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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2113

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ROMANIAN EMIGRE SOURCES COUNTER HUNGARIAN CHARGES OF DISCRIMINATION

Paris BULETIN DE INFORMATIE PENTRU ROMANI IN EXIL in Romanian 1 Dec 82 pp 8, 10

[Article by Vlad Stolojan: "We Cannot Remain Indifferent"]

[Text] We have learned from our Hungarian friends in Paris that between 5 and 6 November, the Securitate in Cluj and Oradea arrested a number of intellecutals of Hungarian origin. Those individuals had published a magazine ELLENPONTOK [COUNTERPOINT] which appeared in the underground press, in Hungary. We are referring to the poet Geza Szocs, the philosopher Ara-Kovacs and Professor Karoly Toth and his wife. During the investigation, it appears that Mrs Toth and the poet Szocs were mistreated, a current occurrence with the Securitate. After five days, Ara-Kovacs and the Toths were released, but were placed under house arrest and threatened with trial for high treason. Nothing is known about the fate of the poet Szocs.

As far as we know, it is the first underground publication which, to the authors' credit, succeeded in appearing regularly for about a year, from December 1981 to October 1982. The last issue (number eight) published a "memorandum" concerning the fate of the Hungarian minority in Transylvania and the persecution they suffer, a memorandum which, through various channels, was sent to the Madrid Conference and other forums in the West. In an annex, this memorandum was a rather lengthy proposal for the solution of the problems which are the object of the memorandum.

Of course, as does any progressive individual, one hopes that in the future, unfortunately in the distant future, a kind of European Federation will take shape in which the Hungarian minority in Transylvania will benefit not only from extensive individual rights together with all the inhabitants of Romania, but also from certain rights as an ethnic and linguistic community.

We know that for some time, a number of Hungarian communities in the West have, as a matter of fact, in complete cooperation with the communist government in Budapest, organized virulent protests against the treatment of the Hungarian minority in the Socialist Republic of Romania. We know also that there are Hungarian extremists who bring up again, as in 1930, the question of revising the treaties, but this is not the case with the memorandum which we are discussing. Hungarians in the West who are opposed to the communist regime in their country and are against the Soviet protectorate, find it easy to cooperate with the government in Budapest on the nationality problem because that government has proven itself to be most flexible, effective and nationalistic of all the satellite governments. This, of course, is within the strict limits imposed by the Soviet protectorate (Yalta). This contrasts with free Romanians for whom this is impossible today because each of us feels a sense of shame on account of the primitivism, the brutality, the nepotism and the incompetence of the rulers in Bucharest, a sentiment exacerbated by the ridiculous cult of the personality of the presidential couple. For the first time in modern history, the French head of state went to Budapest and refused to go to Bucharest. The visisions that separate Romanian refugees from the government in Bucharest are much greater than those that separate the Hungarian refugees from the government in Budapest.

As a result of the memorandum and the arrests, Hungarians in the West are working to organize, particularly in Paris and the United States, an "international league" to defend the rights of the Hungarian minority in Romania. The last paragraph of the annex of the memornadum mentions that this is not a document aimed at the Romanian people and that they can only benefit from the conditions in Romania being brought to the attention of the public. The memorandum, however, deals solely with the problems of the Hungarian minority as was to be expected. Our Hungarian friends in Paris asserted to us that the general situation in Romania cannot be their problem, but ours.

It is possible that the very name "memorandum" given by the authors may have been inspired by the "memorandum" of the Romanians of Transylvania, in 1892, which created a sensation at the time.

What should our attitude be towards this document?

Our duty is to point out that the problem of the Hungarian minority is but one of a number of problems caused by the policy of the present rulers in Romania. If all Romanians would have individual, democratic rights, the Hungarian minority would implicitly benefit from these same rights. The memorandum, however, puts emphasis on the policy of Romanianization followed by the communist government. It must be observed that this situation is inherent in the policy of industrialization and urbanization. Thus, for example, the city of Tirgu Mures before the war had a population of 40,000-50,000, the majority being Hungarian. Today, this same city has 130,000 inhabitants with a Romanian majority; the new inhabitants are peasants being proletarianized. The social order has changed, the Hungarian petit bourgeoisie in the center of town who had given it a unique local appearance were replaced by the new proletariat, essential to the policy of the party. It must be remembered also that immediately after the war, many Hungarians became party members, in a ratio much higher than the Romanians. These Hungarians gave priority to the party, and to careers, and not to nationalism; thus many of them became Romanianized.

We point out that the same thing happened in Kishinev where the population went from 110,000 to 500,000 with a non-Romanian majority. Here the situation is different however, since according to Soviet statistics, of the four million inhabitants of the Socialist Republic of Moldavia, 65.4 percent are Moldavian and only 10.2 percent Russian.

What was the ever-contradictory policy of the Romanian Communist Party, made up, prior to 1953, almost exclusively for foreigners including a large number of Hungarians, and, after 1953, of a large crowd of Romanian opportunists? Immediately after the war, the party pursued an anti-Romanian policy, and, among many other things, it created the Autonomous Hungarian Region, it established the first Hungarian university in Romania and it required the children of the Csango in Moldavia to go to schools taught in Hungarian. We also recall how in this period, in the Transylvanian cities, we encountered the well-known Magyar chauvinism, and if we spoke Romanian it was impossible to be served in the restaurants or stores. We also remember that the Securitat forces were in a large part composed of Hungarians. The big change came about in 1956 after the anticommunist revolt in Hungary. I remember, for example, that in prison I met a large number of students of the Securitate officers school, young Hungarians arrested solely on the suspicion that they might harbor sympathy for the 1956 revolution.

What are the mitigating measures that the memorandum suggests in such detail? First of all, it calls for an international control commission, something unimaginable under the present regime. In the second place, we see that there are maximalist measures, returning not to the prewar conditions, but to those of the years 1950-56. For example, among the numerous demands is one that Romanians study Hungarian and have a feel for Hungarian history. There is also the demand for teaching the Csango's in Hungarian. For all we know, since the beginning of education in Moldavia, the Csangos have studied only in Romanian schools, except for the brief period between 1950-56 under the communist regime. All of these are matters which must be examined with impartiality and without chauvinistic tendencies.

In conclusion, regarding the policy of the government in Bucharest, there is no doubt that now Ceausescu, discredited in the eyes of the people because, among other things, of the economic bankruptcy, is playing his last card, attempting to gather a portion of the people around him. No longer free to play the card of anti-Russian nationalism, he is following a policy of crude nationalism, resurrecting the old resentments between Romanians and Hungarians. (See the latest book of Ion Lancranjan.) Given this, we, free Romanians, cannot follow Ceausescu's policy. It is fitting that we seek an understanding in the spirit of the declaration which some of us signed with the Hungarian refugees, one which pointed out the goal of the two sides achieving a common posture, a posture that is harmonized and balanced.

1228
CSO: 2700/99

BRIEFS

BULGARIAN DELEGATION IN SFRY--A delegation of the National Committee for the Defense of Peace of the People's Republic of Bulgaria led by its president, Georgi Dimitrov-Goshkin, arrived in Zagreb on Wednesday, 2 February. In discussions at the republican conference of the SAWP of Croatia with Ivica Kuzmanic and Francis Jurak, members of the SAWP presidency, information was exchanged on the efforts being undertaken by the two countries in the struggle for peace, disarmament and just cooperation in the Balkans, Europe and the world for the purpose of overcoming the tensions that burden the world community. In such activities both the Yugoslav League for Peace, Independence and Equality of Peoples and the Peace Committee of the People's Republic of Bulgaria have a significant role. The Bulgarian delegation will visit major cultural institutions in Zagreb and the birth place of Comrade Tito in Kumrovec. On Wednesday the guests from Bulgaria were also received by Milan Rukavina-Sain, vice president of the Assembly of Croatia. [Text] [Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 3 Feb 83 p 12]

CSO: 2800/148

YORDANOV'S SPEECH AT 10TH PLENUM OF COMMITTEE FOR CULTURE

Sofia NARODNA KULTURA in Bulgarian 7 Jan 83 pp 1-3

[Speech by Georgi Yordanov at the 10th Plenum of the Committee for Culture, delivered on 30 December 1982]

[Text] Our socialist culture is on the eve of its Fourth Congress. According to the bylaws, it should be held this year. However, we suggest to the plenum to extend the mandate of the Committee for Culture and to convene the congress shortly after 24 May--Bulgarian Education and Culture Day.

The reasons for postponing the congress are well-known. This will contribute to the overall study of the basic processes and phenomena and the resolution of important problems related to our cultural development. It will hardly be possible to find a more suitable time in which to hold a most representative meeting of creators and workers in Bulgarian culture than those days in May, when we praise the great work of our first teachers Kiril and Metodiy. The perpetuation of an ancient, precious and vital tradition, one of the greatest Bulgarian holidays, has become a wonderful opportunity for a nationwide review of the spiritual achievements of socialist Bulgaria. We believe that the Fourth Congress will be a starting point for new creative successes on the part of the talented Bulgarian people. We draw this confidence from the comprehensive efforts made in order to hold the congress properly, a work which will be inspired by the remarkable gains of the Leninist April cultural policy charted by the party.

Bulgarian socialist culture, which is the creative extension and the peak of a priceless spiritual heritage, is loyal to the immortal humane and militant traditions. Having accepted the gifts of the labor and the talent of generations of noted creative workers, inspired by the ideological-esthetic truths of Marxism-Leninism, it is implementing the behest of our immortal predecessors, that of serving the national, moral and spiritual greatness of the Bulgarian people and their ascent toward the "united bright communism."

The 12th party congress gave a high rating to the achievements of Bulgarian culture, its irreplaceable social role and its contribution to the communist upbringing of the working people. The deserved recognition of the party and the people inspires and obligates us. Today we have been called upon to resolve the strategic problem of making our nation a highly cultural socialist nation with even greater energy and on the basis of clear class-party positions.

The study of processes and phenomena in the spiritual area indicates that the artistic and creative intelligentsia, all workers on the cultural front, are joining efforts with the nationwide work aimed at implementing the party's decisions. The feature of cultural life before the Fourth Congress is defined by the desire to create highly artistic works of literature and art, steadily to upgrade the quality of mass cultural manifestations and enhance and assert the social role of culture.

The stipulations of the 12th BCP Congress and the major theoretical developments and practical approaches adopted by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, found in his reports, speeches and statements following the congress, are a most powerful ideological and political weapon in this noble effort. As an impressive innovative manifestation of creative Marxism-Leninism under the conditions of building a developed socialist society, they are an irreplaceable manual for action.

The "Basic Stipulations of the Party Concept of the New Labor Code" offer a vivid example of revolutionary creativity, developed by our first leader. They represent a far-sighted scientific party program of comprehensive advancement of socialist labor relations and a remarkable synthesis of the processes and laws governing social reality. In this sense the party concept is an original constitution governing free socialist toil.

As an indivisible part of Comrade Todor Zhivkov's tremendous ideological and creative work, the latest party documents are of basic significance on the cultural front as well. They convincingly depict the historical gains of the April cultural policy pursued by the party and the stages, objectives and tasks of building socialism. They go far beyond the framework of a specific event, such as the speech delivered at the 14th Komsomol Congress, and become a programmatic appeal addressed to the future.

In noting the great accomplishments of our contemporary literature and art, displaying the insight of a prime builder of Bulgarian socialist culture, Comrade Todor Zhivkov clearly indicated the adverse aspects in spiritual development as well. This applies to the unsatisfactory results of the implementation of the decisions of the 12th party congress in some areas of cultural life. We come across works lacking a class-party position or else impoverishing the spiritual appearance of our contemporaries; some workers sink in the pettiness of daily life and fail to look at the great, the main features of life; there are critics who are unable to distinguish between the wheat and the chaff; some leading organs and creative collectives suffer from a dulled ideological-esthetic exigency.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov was of great help to the cultural workers by indicating the shady aspects of spiritual creativity. We gratefully acknowledge the substantive party criticism and try to respond to it not through statements but through even better creative results. In connection with his speech at the 14th Komsomol Congress, substantive talks were held in all artistic-creative unions, associations and subunits within our complex and mobilizing decisions were made.

The creators of Bulgarian socialist culture welcome Comrade Todor Zhivkov's wish that artistic creativity be focused on contemporary topics, the heroism and romanticism of our days, and the moral loftiness and ideological purposefulness of the working people with deep understanding. We have reason to state that efforts are already being made to implement this party instruction. This is also the purpose of some additional measures which were taken to improve the system of moral and material incentive for successes in creating works on revolutionary and contemporary topics.

I am convinced that I will be expressing the common view of the plenum by saying that, inspired by the party's trust and recognition, the workers and members of the cultural front will dedicate their talent and inspiration to the steady upsurge and high social usefulness of culture in modern Bulgaria. This will also be the main purpose of our May forum.

Comrades:

The Fourth Cultural Congress will build its work on a firm foundation. During the April age of its chronicle, Bulgaria has created and experienced a new golden spiritual century. This balance which will be drawn at the congress will take place under the sign of the April party ideas which continue to provide a direction to our overall social life. While rejecting the methods of decrees in a delicate area such as artistic creativity and rejecting dogmatic thinking and a simplistic reflection of life with the help of artificial pathos, the April plenum asserted a spirit of democracy, trust and basic exigency toward the artistic intelligentsia. The bright April atmosphere provided an inspiration leading to the full creative manifestation of the talent of the great masters and raised generations of young creative workers who are today shaping our contemporary literature and art.

Our ideological-artistic accomplishments are unquestionable and pleasing, the efforts, talent and patriotic aspirations of those who create and disseminate spiritual values are embedded in the foundations of our homeland's socialist upsurge; no dogmatic or revisionist deviations exist on our ideological front.

The deep roots for the blossoming of Bulgarian culture lie in the ideological and moral-political unity of all creative generations rallied around the party and its Central Committee, headed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov.

Literature, political journalism, plastic arts, music, motion pictures, theater, architecture and amateur art reflected achievements which assert the international reputation of the homeland.

The Fourth Congress will profoundly acknowledge the great personal contribution made by Lyudmila Zhivkova, whose person is inseparably linked to our contemporary spiritual upsurge. Her talent as manager, scientist and public personality embodied the most precious progressive traditions of our national culture and high accomplishments of the socialist cultural revolution.

Ludmila Zhivkova worked tirelessly to implement the Leninist principles of the role of culture in a socialist society. She was guided by the patriotic aspiration of making the name of the fatherland famous throughout the world.

This loyal daughter of the party and the people raised high the activities and tasks of our complex, ranging from the interpretation of the concept of culture as a means leading to the moral and spiritual ennoblement of man to the understanding of the broadened awareness that it is a weapon and a target in building a harmoniously developed individual. She pointed out that an esthetic upbringing is an essential feature in the single process of communist upbringing and a factor in moral-esthetic influence and perfection.

It is our duty to interpret to the very end, to develop and to continue Ludmila Zhivkova's ideological and creative legacy and to defend the traditions of healthy and principle-minded continuity in spiritual life.

The Committee for Culture bureau can report that the instructions issued at our February plenum are being successfully implemented: we are following the way determined by the unique individuality and valuable work accomplished by Ludmila Zhivkova. The spiritual seeds which she planted continue to yield generous fruits.

Unquestionably, the Fourth Cultural Congress will assert precisely this line in the future activities of the entire complex of "Artistic Creativity, Cultural Activity and Mass Information Media."

Comrades:

The time which preceded our congress was saturated with remarkable political events in the life of the party and the people. The 12th BCP Congress, the 1,300th anniversary of the founding of the Bulgarian state, the centennial of Georgi Dimitrov's birth, the 90th anniversary of the founding of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the 25th anniversary of the April Plenum and the 70th anniversary of Comrade Todor Zhivkov's birth considerably enhanced the political and labor activeness of the people. They opened a broad scope for the development of comprehensive creativity on the part of the Bulgarians and for a new flow of socialist patriotism and internationalism within the working people.

We are well familiar with the facts, phenomena and processes which became objective laws governing the socialist cultural development of the homeland.

In terms of the scale and intensiveness of cultural processes, Bulgaria holds one of the leading positions in the world. The dissemination of spiritual values among all social strata improved. The network of cultural institutes improved and a number of projects related to the material and technical foundations of culture were commissioned. The Ludmila Zhivkova People's Palace of Culture--a highly representative center of impressive cultural and political events--is a splendid acquisition of the working people.

The ideological-professional level in the activities of all associations and branches in our complex was enhanced. The impact of the implementation of the program for nationwide esthetic upbringing has been unquestionable. The initiatives included in the programs dedicated to the lives and activities of Nikolay Rerikh, Leonardo da Vinci, Vladimir Il'ich Lenin, and Konstantin-Kiril Filosof were successfully implemented.

Ideological-educational work of great scope and meaning was carried out on the occasion of the centennial of the birth of Georgi Dimitrov, the great son of Bulgaria and the Bulgarian Communist Party.

The program related to the centennial of the birth of Vladimir Dimitrov-Maystora, was properly carried out as well.

The results of the long-term programs are a reliable base for further successes in this direction.

The "Banner of Peace" international assembly, organized on Ludmila Zhivkova's initiative, is gaining increasing popularity among young people in Bulgaria and many other countries. The loftiness and humaneness of the ideas and objectives of the movement for unity, creativity and beauty of the new Ludmila Zhivkova International Foundation have earned socialist Bulgaria a number of friends and serve peace and friendship among nations.

The memorable celebration of the 1,300th anniversary of the founding of the Bulgarian state was an exceptional cultural and political event in our country and abroad. It was celebrated in more than 100 countries. The implementation of the national program in honor of the 1,300th anniversary of Bulgaria's founding enriched our spiritual life with new works of literature, art and science, and numerous long-range cultural initiatives. Monuments and memorial ensembles were built for the future generations. The "Thirteen Centuries of Bulgaria" Fund is developing successfully. Naturally, the unquestionable opportunities which it provides should be used ever more fully.

We must properly assess the role of international actions such as writers' meetings in Sofia, the bienale of realistic painting, the Sofia Musical Weeks festival, the architectural bienale, the season of the Theater of the Nations, and others.

To sum it up: at its Fourth Congress Bulgarian socialist culture will report major achievements, which are the result of the Leninist April cultural policy charted by the party, and will earmark the new objectives and tasks in artistic creativity and our overall spiritual development proceeding from the 12th party congress. They could be defined as follows:

--steady enhancement of the social function and usefulness of culture as a factor in the communist upbringing of the new person, the assertion of a socialist way of life and the accelerated socioeconomic development of the country in the mature socialist stage;

--the increasingly full satisfaction of the growing spiritual needs of the people, the extensive development of nationwide esthetic upbringing, the development of democracy and the socio-state principle and the economic approach in the management of spiritual processes;

--the steady defense of class-party principles and criteria; the enrichment of socialist realism and the enhancement of the ideological and spiritual standard of works of literature and the arts; artistic creativity must be powerfully dominated by the problems and emotions of our dynamic time, spirituality and purposefulness of the builder of a developed socialist society and heroism and romanticism in the struggle for social justice and communism;

--the steady increase in participation in and strengthening of Bulgaria's reputation in international cultural life.

The implementation of these objectives and tasks is inconceivable without cultural intensification. Such intensification must be conceived above all as a desire to ensure the best possible utilization of the creative potential of the nation with a view to the creation of remarkable works of art and high quality and efficiency in overall cultural and educational activities.

At his meeting with motion picture workers, which was held last October in Varna, Comrade Todor Zhivkov convincingly proved that party and social exigency concerning results in artistic creativity are a manifestation of the party's and the people's concern for talent--our precious resource. It is precisely this concern that makes us feel dissatisfied and concerned and alarmed by some recurrences of the so-called "grey flood" of pseudo-innovation, lack of prospects and pessimism found in some works of literature and art. As Turgenev aptly said, "... In the full and universal denial one finds no happiness.... A mind directed merely toward rejection becomes impoverished and desiccated..."

It is no secret that both on television and in motion pictures, in the bookstores and in some theater performances and exhibitions some works were displayed which belittled the class-party criterion. They reflect the life of our contemporary on the basis of erroneous ideological positions, substituting an already rejected schematism with another.

It is easy to understand why the people, who are the best critics of culture, condescendingly turn away from works in which artistic helplessness is concealed behind false enthusiasm and superficial optimism or pretentious mannerism and imitativeness. The working people have a vital need for more books and films, more works of music, the theater and the graphic arts in which the pulsebeat of human truths, which reflect in a highly artistic manner the comprehensive life and spiritual essence of our contemporaries, is felt. In the arena of human and social interrelationships a continuing struggle is being waged between the old and the new. It is precisely the clashes between the regressive and the progressive that drive our development forward.

We do not forget that literature and art are a specific form of ideology. That is why we should not allow any distortion of our socialist reality or any insulting of the contemporary Bulgarian citizens. To oppose and counter such manifestations, although infrequent, means to make the fullest possible use of the people's talents. In this case there is no place for exhortations or one-sided work. We need a class-party clarity and a principled ideological exigency.

A powerful spiritual energy and possibilities are concentrated within the artistic-creative unions. United and firmly rallied around the party's Central Committee, headed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, the Bulgarian artistic intelligentsia, which deserves historical credit for the unparalleled advance of the homeland, can resolve difficult problems formulated by the party and the people at each stage in the development of socialism. That is why the Committee for Culture considers that all editorial boards, guiding councils, juries, commissions and entire artistic collectives must be always on the level of their creative, party and civic responsibilities.

The need for touching and highly artistic works of literature and art obligates us in terms of their assessment and dissemination of spiritual values, strictly to apply class-party principles and criteria. The clearer, more open, more honest, more sympathetic and principled that discussions and exigencies in creative circles become, the stronger the social environment leading to great art useful to the people will become. With such a climate, even the most difficult creative problems can be resolved mainly through creative means.

Failures of individual creative workers should be considered failures affecting, to one extent or another, the entire creative collective. The personal drama of an unrealized author or performer should not be ignored in the cold indifference of indifferent colleagues. Could there be a richer soil for a full proof of the personality of an individual than a healthy collective in which everyone is pleased by individual successes, a collective in which the failure or the wrong step taken by a comrade can be surmounted without spiritual traumas?

We are convinced that the leading national institutes such as the Ivan Vazov National Theater, the Sofia National Opera and the Sofia Philharmonic Orchestra, must provide examples in this respect.

If it is a question of the most accurate measurement of what is true and what is false, of true and false spiritual values, let us always remember the inspiring party slogan "More among the people, and closer to life!" This applies to all of us, particularly the young, who have decided to dedicate their talents and efforts to socialist culture and serve their nation and homeland through literature and the arts.

It is entirely natural for our attention to be focused on the social function of artistic criticism. We know that unquestionable creative accomplishments exist in this area but also that some of its manifestations concern us greatly. The problem is not new. The artistic and creative associations and many cultural and scientific institutes have done a great deal to ensure its positive solution. However, the changes are taking place too slowly and achievements are not fully consistent with the high social role which artistic criticism must play. Thus, for example, some critics lighthandedly replace principled ideological, civic and class-party positions with subjectivistic preferences or prejudices. They are the slaves of misunderstood friendly relations and, even worse, of personal interests. Proceeding from all of this, the Committee for Culture bureau and the Council of Chairmen of Creative Unions suggest that the condition of artistic criticism be discussed at the joint plenum. Preparations are being made for holding a theoretical science conference on the class-party approach to artistic creativity.

Comrades:

Under socialism the spiritual values are the property and wealth of the entire people. The objectively legitimate process of the dissemination of the results of socialist culture demands properly organized work and continuing supervision of execution. The interaction and cooperation among all institutes and ways and means for developing activities within the framework of our national complex must be improved steadily.

Some improvements are mandatory in the structure and the territorial location of cultural institutes. The cadre potential and the material and technical base of culture must be maximally utilized regardless of their organizational, territorial or departmental affiliation. The urgent tasks governing our development call for determining incentives for comprehensive cultural work in worker centers and in distant and border areas.

Contemporary scientific and technical progress offers facilities for useful ideological and cultural-educational work through television, radio, the press, motion pictures, libraries, museums and others. This creates both advantages and obligations. One can only regret that a large portion of possibilities in this respect are not being fully used and that personal preferences, departmental or original exclusivity, and lowered taste are controlling us excessively. For example, it is high time to take more decisive steps to ensure the further development of a unified and also, in the future, an automated library system in which the Kiril i Metodiy National Library will play a leading methodical role. Insufficient use is being made of possibilities of improving cultural-mass and educational work in a number of museums. Minor reorganization activities and renovation of existing buildings and premises will enable us to set up art galleries in virtually all okrug centers and in some of the larger settlements. Accomplishments in this respect achieved in Tolbukhin, Varna, Shumen, Turgovishte, Ruse, Pleven, Sliven, Stara Zagora, Kazanluk, Yambol, Kurdzhali, Silistra, Strazhitsa and other cities deserve a high rating.

Quite naturally, this leads us to the topical problem of contemporary art sponsorship. Unquestionably, today those who value and protect literature and art the most include the socialist society with its organizations, departments and institutes and best labor collectives. This is a remarkable accomplishment in the realm of the party's cultural policy. In the spirit of our most profound traditions we must acknowledge the contribution of the "patrons" of Bulgarian culture. Unquestionably, the patriotic movement of the patrons will meet with general national support and will continue its beneficial development.

The great successes achieved by our amateur groups, ensembles and performers obligate us to expand and strengthen the social foundations of artistic amateur activities even further. At the same time, we must firmly oppose the expensive ambitions of turning professional and the self-seeking ostentatiousness of some groups. Quite frequently such ambitions deprive dozens of other collectives of the funds they need.

Prior experience and the results of the decentralization of cultural activities open new opportunities for the full and harmonious development of the Strandzha-Sakar area and of settlements of the fourth and fifth functional type. The obligations facing the Committee for Culture and the okrug and obshtina councils for culture in this respect are increasing steadily.

We must consider ever more seriously the problem of the interpretation of national traditions and their involvement in the culture of the developed socialist society. For centuries, with envious imagination, taste and proper measure, the people have created their spiritual life and established holidays, recreation events and ceremonies which trigger our admiration to this day. This priceless people's treasury must be nurtured and multiplied. Our ancient traditions, enriched with the new socialist holidays and rituals, spiritualized through communist idea-mindedness and patriotism, and based on the growing opportunities offered by modern communications facilities, would make life even in the most remote village attractive and interesting, for people differ in terms of their celebrations as well. This is one more beneficial field of expression for the artistic and creative organizations and cultural institutions, schools and scientists.

Mass cultural work in conurbation systems must be organized with creative scope and responsibility. Groups and performers, who would contribute to the enhancement of the ideological-educational and professional standard of cultural manifestations, could be recruited on a contractual basis. However, some alarming phenomena exist here, such as formalism, self-seeking, and absolutizing of quantitative indicators in assessing spiritual life. A number of public catering institutions, tourist sites and concert halls offer low-quality works or performances--results of a low cultural standard--governed by the profit motive. Any lowering of the esthetic criteria of the people is a major encroachment which should not leave us indifferent.

This equally applies to the low quality and manifestations of tastelessness in production. Yet we know that the level of the consumer value of a specific commodity is the higher the higher its spiritual expressiveness becomes.

Let it be noted that a number of settlements have built projects deprived of architectural and artistic attractiveness, with the use of public funds. Impersonal and boring, they show poor taste and weak public control. That is why we must firmly oppose hasty and insufficiently planned initiatives and all kinds of waves of tastelessness and baseness which, allegedly for the sake of novelty, damage our environment or eliminate from the people's memory and from the earth precious peoples' resources.

In the final account, such problems are most closely related to the requirements of nationwide steady upbringing and its enhancement to the level of party and state policy. As an organic part of the single process of communist upbringing, it contributes to the awakening of the creative gifts of every person and the molding of a comprehensively developed personality aspiring toward communism. That is why the main feature in our approach to esthetic education is to consider it a factor in the overall shaping of the individual, an efficient social mechanism for spiritual growth, in the course of which creative principle becomes a permanent ground for practical behavior and individual and collective expression. Hence the need for esthetic education to cover all age, demographic and professional groups of the people and all social areas--labor and leisure, education, the family, culture and home life. It is only under such circumstances that it will contribute to the spiritual health of the people, the enhancement of their political and labor activeness and the assertion of a socialist way of life.

Our national program provides the necessary prerequisites for the purposeful management of this original purely Bulgarian social experiment. The programs adopted in this respect by a number of artistic and creative unions and public organizations, and institutes operating on the regional and departmental levels are meaningful. It is indicative that at the First Public Education Congress esthetic education was defined as a major target in educational work. Unfortunately, the territory covered by Bulgarian language and literature--this irreplaceable nation-forming factor--and the other humanities and esthetic subjects is not only not being expanded but in some cases is even reduced.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov's statement to the effect that we, Bulgarians, accept several disciplines which no school curriculum could neglect without this affecting the young generations and hence the nation, remains our guide. This includes Bulgarian language and literature, Bulgarian history and Bulgarian geography. "To be proud of being the homeland of Slavic literacy and the direct descendants and heirs of the brothers Kiril and Metodiy and their students is insufficient. We must preserve and develop the wealth and beauty of their language, of our native Bulgarian language--one of the oldest and most advanced written languages in the contemporary world." In his introductory speech at the July 1979 BCP Central Committee Plenum, Comrade Todor Zhivkov recalled the exceptional role in terms of the national pride and feeling of the Bulgarians of the works of Vazov and the poetry of Botev, Smirnenski and Vaptsarov.

We must firmly block any attempt at emotional deprivation or spiritual impoverishment and one-sided "technologization" of our young contemporaries. This imperative must be taken into consideration in school curriculae and extracurricular work--the overall training and upbringing of the growing generation. The integration among culture, education, science and sports, as well as the movement for unity, creativity and beauty must contribute with increasing success to the implementation of this task.

The results of the long-term program for nationwide esthetic upbringing remains below the high criteria and requirements formulated at the 12th party congress. For this reason, far greater attention must be paid in our future work to weaknesses and shortcomings. We must theoretically explain all problems and processes and eliminate manifestations of dry educational and didactical work in this area. We believe that it is mandatory for the program for esthetic upbringing to be expanded and renovated so that it may continue successfully to fulfill its purpose as a document of important social significance.

The time has come to make a decisive effort to reduce disparities in the level of satisfaction of the cultural needs of the individual social and demographic groups. Efforts must be made to decentralize cultural life so that conditions for full creative manifestations of talent in all okrugs may be created.

Is it not clear that Sofia and other large cities are not the only places where real art can be created? Let us recall the examples of Leo Tolstoy in Yasnaya Polyana, Mikhail Sholokhov in Veshenskaya and Vladimir Dimitrov-Maystora in Shishkovtsi. Life and the characteristics of the creative process prove that some talents blossom best not in the greenhouse of large cities but on their own soil, swept by their native winds.

Naturally, all of this is strictly individual and specific, for which reason individual cases should not be absolutized. What is unquestionable, however, is that we have a fixed and vital responsibility to discover and nurture young talents and raise new generations of fighters on the cultural front, who will take up the flames of our ideas and carry them into the future. In the future as well we shall rely in this noble effort on joint activities with the Dimitrov Communist Youth Union, the "Banner of Peace" Center, the movement of the young artistic and creative intelligentsia and the friends of music and other arts.

Comrades, it is an obvious truth that we are still unable to make full use of our cultural cadres. Life teaches us that the national creative potential of the country must naturally flow among cultural institutions and settlements, between the capital and the okrugs and between the okrugs and the conurbation systems, rather than remain locked in the governmental armor of departmental or territorial frameworks. The contractual system and the new economic mechanism open considerable opportunities in this respect as well.

We are not rich enough to afford individual cultural projects built with people's funds to be used for a few hours a week only or to perform the role of lifeless monuments. Nor is it admissible for the average annual employment of some performers to equal the monthly work of their colleagues in our country and abroad.

Interesting and meaningful cultural activities take place in the capital and the okrug centers. However, a number of drama, opera and puppet theaters, symphony orchestras and professional and amateur groups and performers rarely visit the population of smaller settlements. New useful methods could be developed here: free unification within small creative groups and chamber units composed of artists, directors, writers and painters, who would prepare programs for small halls, for a specific public, and so on. It would be natural to ask ourselves why is it that a number of cultural councils do not make use of the existing premises which, with minor reconstruction, could become small halls in which to show films, perform concerts, organize exhibits and promote other spiritual contacts?

Let us state openly that we must create adequate opportunities, conditions and incentives for establishing direct contacts between the broadest working population strata and live art.

Today scientific and technical progress plays an exceptional role in meeting the cultural needs of the people. Modern means for the reproduction and dissemination of culture are being applied more and more extensively. Radio, television, video clubs, video libraries and other audiovisual systems, cassettes and video cassettes, gramophone records and video records, microfilms in libraries and other technical accomplishments may be found everywhere, ranging from a public institution to the privacy of the home. What are we talking about? Are we talking about the dissemination of true values or the conversion of technical accomplishments into promoters of kitsch and pseudoculture? Have some discotheques not become centers for the promotion of primitive tastes? Let us be properly understood: we are not the enemies of discotheques. However, we oppose discotheques which offer poor programs and environments, and encroachments on the feeling of beauty, rhythm and harmony among our youth.

Obviously, we should not be awed by the magic of technical novelties but apply them with a creative imagination, with feeling and high exigency. It is obvious that such problems should be targets of strict attention and energetic action and serious theoretical work. In this respect the creative-production associations, the okrug cultural councils, the Culture Scientific Production Trust and the Institute for Culture have opportunities to prove themselves.

The new content and broad scope of spiritual activities and the expansion and intensification of social functions of culture formulate far stricter requirements regarding the management of cultural processes as well.

On Comrade Todor Zhivkov's initiative and with the tireless theoretical and practical work which was accomplished by Ludmila Zhivkova, we created and are systematically implementing an overall scientific system for cultural management. Its basic elements consist of the socio-state principle, the development of the "Artistic Creativity, Mass Information Media and Cultural Activities National Complex," and the use of the program-target approach, the multiplication approach and the new economic mechanism. This is one of our substantial accomplishments and an important prerequisite for better results in the future.

The successful development of the socio-state principle as an original Bulgarian form of organization and management, which contributes to the democratization of spiritual life, must also be further developed and improved. It is particularly important for the cultural councils, on the territorial or production level, to involve an increasing number of active members of various social groups, departments and public and economic organizations. It is our view that the creative unions, which play an exceptional role in the implementation of the party's and the state's cultural policy could participate even more energetically in the management of cultural processes.

We must support and expand new initiatives in this direction. The Committee for Culture Bureau considers that it would be expedient and useful, following the example of the capital, to set up cultural councils or clubs in national, construction and industrial projects, scientific institutions and departments. We are convinced that under the guidance of the okrug and obshtina cultural councils, these new collective organs will engage in fruitful educational activities.

An even better use could be made of the supradepartmental rights of our national complex in order to enhance and to strengthen the coordinating, organizing and controlling functions of the Committee for Culture and the executive committees of the okrug people's councils and okrug cultural councils.

With justifiable anger we frequently speak of scandalous events such as taking over the functions and activities which are entrusted by law to our complex or its branches; maintaining cultural projects for profit only, regardless of their educational effect; the illegal production of cassettes and videocassettes, and so on. Is it not time to replace our verbal invocations with firm and principled action, strict control and prosecution?

The people's public libraries have played an irreplaceable role in the life of the Bulgarians from way back. No one questions this. However, if an insignificant share of the energy involved in the rhetoric on the contribution of the libraries were to be converted into actual results, their fate in a number of areas would become far more enviable. It would be difficult to explain for the sake of whose interests in the past 4 years the funds allocated by the agroindustrial complexes for the upkeep of the public libraries have been reduced by more than half.

The Committee for Culture Bureau considers that adequate social conditions have been created for the restoration of library activities in a number of settlements. The problems facing these centers of knowledge and enlightenment should become the focal point of attention of the Committee for Culture and the territorial complexes, in all their gravity. Let me report that a plenum will be held by the Committee for Culture and a new law on public libraries will be approved.

It is clear to us that a far greater number of young people must be encouraged to visit the libraries. Extensive opportunities exist for better coordination in the work of libraries, cultural and youth homes, other libraries, motion picture theaters, museums and professional and amateur art groups. Unfortunately, in a number of places they are all playing their own separate tunes without achieving a common melody.

We must state that one of the most reliable means for the skillful management of spiritual processes and for ensuring a higher social usefulness of culture may be achieved through the application of the new economic approach and its mechanism.

The incentives, rights and obligations stipulated in the mechanism aim at upgrading the quality and ideological-educational impact of cultural services and activities, the elimination of consumerism and equalization, and the erection of economic barriers to block the "grey flood," formalism, low quality and baseness. The economic approach creates conditions for the accelerated development of a contemporary foundation for cultural activities and for the technical retooling of mass information media, for stimulating the creative process, correlating maintenance costs with results and achieving even closer ties between culture and labor collectives and schools and science. Consequently, it is consistent with the objective law and will satisfy a ripe vital requirement.

Naturally, the new approach is not a self-seeking measure or an imitation but a tool needed for the solution of our problems. That is why, starting with the New Year, the economic mechanism must be expertly mastered and decisively applied on all levels and in all units within the "Artistic Creativity, Mass Information Media and Cultural Activities National Complex."

The following are particularly important in this respect:

First: the full identification and implementation of internal reserves in the development of territorial complexes, creative-production associations and organizations; enterprise funds, decentralized funds and social orders must assume an increasing share of the maintenance of cultural activities, along with budget subsidies;

Second: we must consistently apply the contractual and competitive principle in cadre appointment and salaries and material incentives must be closely related to achieved ideological-artistic and educational results;

Third: we must always be aware of the specifics, complexity and variety existing in the field of culture; arising difficulties and problems must be resolved creatively.

We are familiar with the lessons drawn from the brief experience gained in the application of the new economic approach and the successful experiment conducted in Plovdiv Okrug and in some creative-production organizations. They prove that such complex problems must be resolved consistently and without excessive enthusiasm, purposefully and firmly. It is particularly important now to work heartily for the implementation of the entire set of theoretical, practical, organizational, methodological, psychological and other tasks, without which the new approach cannot be applied successfully.

We are well aware of the fact that the road leading from a good intention to success is long and hard; as in any other innovative activity, here again success depends on persistent and skillful work, and the usefulness of individual and collective efforts.

Comrades:

Our socialist culture is profoundly national. Its national originality is its remarkable quality. However, it is created in the course of continuing cooperation with the progressive spiritual development of other nations. Open to the world, facing all people of good will, Bulgarian culture is a constructive factor in our tense and conflicting times.

We are celebrating today the birthday of the great USSR. This is an excellent occasion to restate the fact that in 6 decades the fraternal Soviet Union has covered a distance equal to a millenium and that the roots of our fraternity, which are sunk deep in history, are becoming increasingly strong and more powerful.

Soviet culture plays a vanguard role in the development of the global cultural-historical process. Its remarkable accomplishments meet with a deep response within our national spirituality and serve our common communist ideals. We can say with full justification that the two fraternal socialist cultures are in a process of comprehensive rapprochement and interpenetration and enrichment. This law offers limitless opportunities. The Bulgarian Culture Days, held in the USSR in honor of the centennial of the birth of Georgi Dimitrov and Soviet Culture Days, celebrated in the Bulgarian People's Republic, dedicated to the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Soviet Union, which were very successful, reasserted this invariable truth.

The bilateral cultural five-year plans are a qualitatively new aspect in the area of Bulgarian-Soviet cultural cooperation. We are convinced that joint coordinated initiatives sponsored by artistic-creative circles and organizations in both countries, joint initiatives in literature and art, coproductions and other joint activities will assume an increasingly important place in the tremendous cultural exchanges we maintain with our Soviet brothers. This will enhance our spiritual exchanges with the homeland of the Great October Revolution. It will upgrade the quality and efficiency of our joint activities and will contribute to the enhancement of the new human civilization--the civilization of real socialism.

We face extensive opportunities for the further energizing and development of our spiritual cooperation with the other members of the fraternal socialist comity as well.

The share of exchanges with the Balkan countries is increasing steadily in our international cultural efforts. Reciprocal cultural relations with our neighbors constitute a considerable contribution to peace and understanding in this very complex part of the world.

We must give a high rating to cooperation between Bulgaria and international governmental and nongovernmental organizations, UNESCO above all. This is helping to broaden possibilities of popularizing the spiritual wealth of socialist Bulgaria abroad.

In thefuture, cooperation in the spiritual area with other peoples should become even more purposeful. We must make skillful use of any opportunity for ensuring Bulgaria's cultural presence in the world and for the prestigious assertion of its remarkable socialist gains.

Today an uncompromising class battle is being waged in the international arena. Imperialism is thoroughly preparing itself for a crusade against communism and for a clash with the countries of real socialism. The threat of war is being combined with economic pressure and blackmail and an extensive ideological campaign in all its aspects, ranging from delicate insinuations, in which lies and truths, skillfully administered, blend together with unquestionable facts and lies, to blanket slander and brutal insults hurled at our communist ideals and most profound national virtues.

It is vitally necessary today to upgrade our vigilance, to straighten up our lines, and to mount a broad offensive along the entire ideological front. Particularly important tasks in this respect face the press, radio and television, which must expose the criminal intrigues of imperialist centers, provide faster information and assert convincingly and intelligently the great truth of real socialism.

Politics persistently demand of the working people in this area to display their vivid publicistic mastery, high professionalism and ideological-class sharpness.

The battlefield of ideas in the world demands that in the future the main attention be focused on the ideological-political efficiency and quality of our cultural exchanges. This can be achieved through the coordinated efforts of all departments and organizations which are directly or indirectly involved in such responsible activities.

Comrades: we can justifiably say that comprehensive and extensive work has been done in preparing for the Fourth Bulgarian Cultural Congress. A major step in precongress activities has been covered--the accountability and election meetings in the public libraries and cultural clubs, and the conferences held by obshtina and rayon cultural councils. It is indicative that they involved the participation of merely 1 million people. We must point out that we consider a mandatory assignment for the future the concern and attention which the okrug and obshtina party committees and the public in the conurbation systems are showing for the cultural councils.

It will be expedient to hold conferences of the cultural councils in Sofia and the okrug centers between 1 March and 30 April 1983 for the selection of the 2,500 delegates who will attend the congress.

The committee's bureau suggests that the Fourth Bulgarian Cultural Congress be held on 25, 26 and 27 May 1983 at the Ludmila Zhivkova People's Palace with the following agenda:

1. Accountability report;
2. Amendments and supplements to the bylaws;
3. Election of leading organs for the Committee for Culture.

We plan to invite to the congress delegations from the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, and noted representatives of progressive world culture and leaders of international cultural and educational organizations.

We suggest that in addition to plenary sessions, section sessions be held in the course of our gathering. In this manner a larger number of delegates and guests will be able to participate in the debates and better conditions for an open and creative discussion will be provided.

We are profoundly convinced that by focusing our attention on the main task--the steady growth of the social function and usefulness of Bulgarian culture--the okrug conferences and the Fourth Cultural Congress will adopt an efficient program for new spiritual accomplishments by mature socialism. Unquestionably, they will formulate stricter requirements concerning our work and our individual and joint behavior.

May any patriotic accomplishment in the field of Bulgarian culture be distinguished by a tireless aspiration to achieve rich creative work, improvement and strict self-exigency!

Let us make our contribution through inspired and fruitful toil to the continued tireless material and spiritual upsurge of our ancient and young homeland!

Dear comrades, let us provide a proper welcome to the Fourth Congress of Bulgarian Socialist Culture!

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CPSL FIRST SECRETARY LENART'S INTERVIEW

Bratislava NOVE SLOVO in Slovak 13 Jan 83 pp 3, 4, 5

[Interview with Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium of The CPCZ Central Committee, first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, by editors in chief of Pravda, UJ SZO and NOVE SLOVO: "Performance Criterion for Communists: Deeds"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] [Question] Preparations for annual membership meetings are culminating in basic party organizations. The information received in editorial offices indicates that their preparation is receiving the requisite attention.

[Answer] Indeed. We do find ourselves at a significant milestone in the life of our party. After all, communists in each basic party organization will account at the annual membership meeting for what has been accomplished. But not just presenting an account--the main point is to point out the takeoff points for systematic implementation of the policy of the 16th CPCZ Congress. For that reason, the important point is with what measures of responsibility and exacting standards they approach evaluation of all that has been accomplished. In its Seventh Plenum the CPCZ Central Committee stated that much had been accomplished over the last 2 years and that we had made some progress, yet that some shortcomings, weak points and problems still persist. The point is to be able in all instances to make correct use of and to reinforce all positive aspects and, on the other hand, where shortcomings and problems are concerned, but just to circumvent them, justify them, become resigned to them, but boldly to identify and expose them, analyze them, find and implement solutions. And that can be accomplished only by conscientious and high--quality preparation.

The information available to us indicates that most organizations proceed with the preparations in this spirit. Particularly characteristic is the effort to involve a wide circle of party members in projecting the efforts of organizations and their effects on meeting of tasks in the economy, in science and in culture. Talks and meetings are held with party members and, in some places, even with nonparty members--teams of socialist work brigades. That is a correct approach--it makes it possible, on the one hand, to undertake a deeper analysis of the attained results and intelligent identification and exposition of problems and, on the other hand, it leads to more active participation by communists who are aware of their responsibility, who feel their moral and material obligation for the success of the annual meeting, for the fate of its resolutions.

Nevertheless, it must also be stated that there are organizations where evaluation of efforts is not combined with the requisite analysis of the results attained by their place of work, where shortcomings are relegated more or less to mere acknowledgement divorced from their relation to specific persons and, as a result, where they fail to identify and call for demanding solutions. Matters in such organizations must be straightened out, even if it takes the help of district and regional committees. Nowhere can we afford to lose time for resolute dealing with demanding tasks, as called for by the needs of the times and as required of us by the CPCZ Central Committee.

[Question] What are the key points for party organizations to keep in mind in preparations for and implementation of annual meetings?

[Answer] The key area which is of decisive importance for advancement of our socialist society is the national economy. There is no doubt that these problems will also form the focal point of attention at annual meetings and at party conferences. The starting point for a uniform course of action by communists is the finding of the Seventh Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee which evaluated meeting of quotas of the plan for the national economy during the preceding year and approved objectives of the plan for the current year. The CPCZ Central Committee--as is well known--stated that under more demanding and complex internal conditions we achieved a number of positive results. Our economy managed to provide for the standard of living and social security of the populace. Advances were made in the evaluation process, there was a decrease in consumption of materials and, what is of particular importance, of fuels and energy. These are initial steps on the path toward intensification of the economy and they convince us that the policy promulgated by the party is realistic and that the efforts expended by the working public are producing results. Nevertheless, we must constantly keep in our mind that this is but the beginning of the trend for reorientation of the economy to a clear-cut path toward intensification. Such a statement is prompted by many everyday routine findings which bear witness to the fact that savings of processed and raw materials are being accomplished largely by easy mobilization of unused resources. That is also very much desirable and needed. However, our goal is and must be to base reduction of consumption in past [labor input] as well as direct labor input per utility unit more and more on factors that have lasting effects and develop them faster than new resources, because they form the prerequisite for achieving a turnover toward intensification.

[Question] When results achieved over the past 2 years are subjected to an evaluation, the factor often pointed out is low dynamics of growth.

[Answer] It is indeed so, particularly if we refer to growth in gross production and material inputs in comparison with preceding years. However, we must come to realize exactly where it is that we want and must increase dynamic growth.

It has been convincingly argued on several occasions that increases in production cannot be implemented by linear growth in the consumption of processed and raw materials or the number of workers. Among other reasons for it being so is to be seen in steep increases in the costs for extraction of fuels and raw materials and, consequently, in the prices of the latter two, as well as in lower increments in the number of populace of productive age. In the CSSR, we achieved in the process of industrialization very remarkable results in per capita production; in providing fuels, generation of electric energy, production of steel, cement and a number of other commodities we hold one of the leading positions in the world. However, in comparison with other industrially advanced countries, our consumption of fuels, energy and raw materials per production unit is disproportionately high. Nor can we be satisfied with the level of productivity of labor in comparison with the leading countries. Thus, this hard and uncompromising reality convinces us that continued combining of dynamic growth of the national economy with continued increases in the volume of fuels, energy and materials is a path we cannot negotiate. We must resolutely keep improving the optimum use of all resources that represent an input into the national economy. And that means that we cannot become oriented toward the path of dynamic growth in volumetric indicators (such as in tons), but unequivocally in qualitative indicators. For that reason our objective must be to achieve the highest possible dynamics in quality, in technical specifications, in efficiency--with essentially unchanged inputs in basic raw materials, fuels, energy and manpower, such as envisioned by the plan for 1983 and the subsequent years of the Seventh 5-Year Plan. That is the only path toward maintaining and improving the quality of the standard of living and contributing to the advancement of society.

[Question] What constitutes the focus for attention of party organizations and of the working public in general in these efforts?

[Answer] We all realize that implementation of the inevitable objective which I pointed out is no simple or easy task. It calls for conscientious and quality performance in all sectors, a higher degree of discipline in ministerial departments, VHJ [economic production units], enterprises, work teams. Industrious input by everybody is herein desirable and welcomed. The scales currently tilt much more sensitively than was the case in the past in favor of every reasonably saved kilowatt-hour of electric energy, every kilogram of raw and processed materials and efficiently used hour of working time. As accelerated and more systematic effort must be developed to put to use all available unused resources which can be found in ample measure at all places of work. Let us be honest about it--is there not a preponderance of instances of wasting electricity, fuels, heat, cement and other direly needed raw and processed materials and products, including food? We must stop merely acknowledging the status quo and increase responsibility for economic management everywhere. And we all must also be aware of the fact that the turning out of products for which there is no demand on the market does not provide any aid in our struggle to achieve intensive development, but, on the contrary, makes it even more difficult. It is specifically the tense situation in resources and the demanding nature of the tasks we face that calls for efficient and effective utilization of all the resources we have at our disposal.

We must come to realize in all seriousness that the decisive goal which we must unconditionally attain is turning out of products with a high standard of quality and with the requisite return on investment. It is this area in particular where considerable unused resources are available in Slovakia, together with large demand and large potential. After all, the situation in the quality of products is such that over the past 5 years the share of top-quality products increased only 6.3 percent. At the same time, in the total value of innovated products there is a prevalence of innovations of a lower order that show little return on investment, or even losses. That should become a source of concern to all of us and rouse in us the desire to set things right. We must by all means achieve the goal of attaining at least a twofold higher share of top-quality products even in the years of the current 5-year plan.

[Question] And what does this call for, what are the prerequisites?

[Answer] Even at the session of the CPSL Central Committee which applied the resolutions of the Seventh Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee to our conditions, we emphasized the necessity for the party in Slovakia, its organs, organizations in factories, at general management level, in departmental facilities, in research institutes to make programs designed to increase the share of top-quality products the focal point of their efforts. This should concentrate primarily on key porducts at each place of work, as well as to those produced at a loss or with low profitability.

In this particular direction, we must channel more specifically and systematically the right of party organizations to control of economic management. This presupposes requiring from economic management a suitable and apt analysis of the state of affairs in quality confronted with top products of advanced foreign partners in socialist countries and the rest of the world. But the decisive point is to project the programs for improvement of quality into plans for technological development, into goal-oriented tasks for suggestions for improvement and innovation and for socialist competition in general and that they be dealt with a high technical level, expediently and economically.

It is specifically party organizations in research institutes, in preproduction stages, in design and planning that must play herein the role of vanguard. The point is that they participate in generating a creative atmosphere and apply an uncompromising and objective "eyeballing system" to evaluation of any and all contributions and effects accruing to their own work teams in the field of technological progress, quality and efficiency.

In a nutshell, in production as well as in research we must achieve a turnover from traditional monitoring of gross production and primarily quantitative indicators to monitoring the improvements in quality and efficiency. That must become--I would say--our daily bread, from the CPSL Central Committee through district and regional committees to every single basic organization and its party groupings. The intraparty information system must also be adapted to that end.

[Question] There can arise the question--would not such specific dealing with problems of quality and efficiency by party organizations lead to replacement of economic management?

[Answer] Experience shows that such misgivings are not substantiated. In the current situation there rather tend to appear negative manifestations of the fact that some party organizations fail to deal with these problems in time and systematically. After all, quality and efficiency constitute the key socioeconomic problem. It is the area of decisive importance to our progress which calls for primary involvement of party organizations and of communists, backed up by their know-how and translated into specific deeds. It is high time indeed, "5 minutes to 12" so to say, to do away with liberal attitudes in relation to quality and efficiency. Party organs and organizations must not stand idly by in cases when production turns out products of below-average quality and with poor efficiency.

When we stress that party organizations ought to, allegorically speaking, keep their hand on the pulse of quality and efficiency, that does not connote by any means that they should replace economic management. Their role is to assert the leading role of the party in this area in such a manner so that the strategic policy promulgated by CPCZ congresses and giving expression to the needs of the society as a whole become specified and reflected in the activities of every single key administrator, every scientist and every worker. It stands to reason that in so doing, party organizations should consult a wide circle of specialists, scientists, lean on experience of workers, develop ideological and political indoctrination among them and make therein suitable use of--where available--competent quality-control panels. These and other approaches must be further improved together with increasing their effectiveness.

And it should be emphasized in particular that systematic efforts of party organizations to achieve advances in quality and efficiency are in the interest of all workers and of each individual work team. This is convincingly illustrated by an example from Bratislava's Dimitrov plant. The comrades there pledged to achieve even in the current year a twofold increase in the share of top-quality products, namely from the 21.1 percent achieved last year to 46.3 percent. That is a bold and correct kind of resolve. Its accomplishment will provide the plant's wage fund as well as the cultural and social services fund with resources. That is a correct policy taken by the plant's management, its party and trade union organizations.

[Question] From what has been said, it follows that achievement of a turnover in transition to intensification depends on us, on the quality of management, on the efforts of party organizations.

[Answer] That is correct. Even the time that elapsed since the 16th Congress and the considerable experience we gained through it reinforce in us the conviction of the correctness of the party's conclusions, which hold that it depends only on our efforts, talents and approaches how fast and with what degree of quality--in spite of the complex external and demanding internal conditions--we achieve a transition of our economy on a path of intensification. The key and decisive factor herein is quality of management. There is no doubt that we have been achieving partial improvements in this area, even though it does not apply to the entire managerial structure. However, in all instances we must be aware of the fact that the criterion of quality and efficiency of managerial work must be: What advances did we make in making use of the advantages offered by socialism? And it is specifically here that key importance does and should accrue to the Set of Measures for Improving the Planned Management System of National Economy After 1980.

It is inevitable for communists to evaluate the effectiveness of the Set of Measures from this viewpoint at the annual meetings. At the same time it must be kept in mind that the Set of Measures does not represent relations among objects, but among people and that is should and must orient and provide the incentive for people to improve their performance and its higher effectiveness. For that reason, we must deal in specific detail and identify the good and effective approaches made by selected VHJ, enterprises and plants and--on the other hand--analyze why the Set of Measures and its individual elements are not being systematically applied. This often is the fault of managerial personnel who discredit the Set of Measures by an excessive volume of paper work and all kinds of paper shuffling. And this should be realized primarily by communists in central authorities and at the general management level who should draw there from the corresponding conclusions.

Experience shows that a much faster and more systematic effort must be developed to improve planning and, in this context, standardizations, be it of consumption or performance norms. We must uncompromisingly overcome opportunism in the remuneration and bonus system and more resolutely introduce intraplant khozrashchet and brigade-type forms of remuneration. As far as these work-team forms of remuneration are concerned, it is imperative that the relevant supervisory administrative organs and the ROH [Revolutionary Trade Union Movement] organs unify their approach in this area. However, the system of remuneration must definitely be subjugated to the principle of pay according to merit in relation to the final result, quality and efficiency. In our daily efforts we must remain aware of the fact that the final result to be achieved by improved management must be solution of persisting problems and a true transition from extensive to intensive management. And to that end we shall continue to further deepen and develop the principles promulgated by the Set of Measures.

[Question] This requirement is also certain to affect such a key area as acceleration of scientific and technical development.

[Answer] We know that the CPCZ Central Committee at its Seventh Plenum, and Comrade Husak in particular in his final address, pointed out that instead of verbally emphasizing the significance of science and technology we should start developing more initiative for more resolute action. Without getting ahead of the subject, I would like to point out that it is specifically with this in mind that the party organs are seriously dealing with this problem area.

In order to make faster progress, to increase the demands on science, research, on the entire area of preproduction stages, there must be a more pronounced pressure exerted by production, its higher demand, I would say even "hunger" for scientific and technical solutions.

We must continue to overcome the situation in which science and research still figure merely as one of the chapters of the plan. The Central Committee, has emphasized on many occasions that science must be regarded as the axis of management and planning, that it must figure in every chapter of the plan so that it can wield beneficial effects on the direction of the planning process and provide for implementation of scientific and technical development by the plan.

With equal emphasis we must endeavor to make purposeful use of the resources expended on scientific and technical development and improving the final results achieved by scientific research facilities. Their efforts must be concentrated on solution of selected key problems and on accelerated rate of their solution. To that end, it is inevitable to overcome barriers between basic, applied research and practice, so that research can see the culmination of its efforts in specific implementation of an idea. For that reason, we support the efforts for establishing a wider base of implementation--prototype workshops, scientific production units, interdepartmental expeditor teams and associations.

We expect that in view of the key importance of scientific and technical development communists in the SAV [Slovak Academy of Sciences], at institutions of higher learning as well as in departmental research institutes and in the research and development base of VHJ will be seriously dealing with the problems of their contribution and effectiveness and that they will adopt measures leading to substantial advances.

[Question] An irreplaceable resource in our struggle for transition of the national economy to intensive development is socialist economic integration.

[Answer] You are so right in bringing this up. This set of problems should not be left unnoticed at an annual meeting or a conference. In every party organization which this concerns even in the slightest extent, there is need for an open and to-the-point evaluation of what advances had been made in the preceding period in VHJ, enterprises, plants, in research institutes in regard to cooperation with the USSR and other fraternal countries. It is not enough just to state that we cooperate, trade, exchange documentation, that we pay mutual visits and that we drink to each other's health. In spite of all this, the fact remains that our measure of participation in international socialist integration is still very limited. The measure of participation by other countries comparable to ours is higher by multiples. There is need for evaluating good experiences, but also for self-critical admission of why we failed to achieve what we could and should have. It behooves party organizations to become guarantors of overcoming the many autarkic tendencies in thinking and attitudes, that we all perform with the knowledge of the destiny-dictated significance of socialist economic integration and, particularly, cooperation with the USSR for our country.

[Question] A significant role in the intensifying struggle for achieving a turnover in quality and efficiency is played by initiative of the workers and by socialist competition.

[Answer] We had ample occasion to see and are seeing that it is a powerful and irreplaceable force that keeps constantly increasing in importance. Thus, Comrade Husak in his concluding address at the Seventh Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee was justified in pointing out the inevitability of--"developing extensive political and organizational efforts among the people to make them correctly realize what goals we place for ourselves and why, and what must be done for their successful attainment." That is the prerequisite of purposeful conduct by the people, their initiative and quality performance.

The Central Committee at its session also--as we know--gave its full support to party, trade union and economic organs in developing work initiative for meeting and exceeding decisive quotas of the plan for the current year. With particular warmth, it pointed out and praised the pledge to turn out in 1983 products amounting to at least 1 day's production above the planned quotas from saved raw materials, metals, fuels and other costs. What is important is that they not be products for storage, of poor quality, but that their quality and technical features make them wanted by domestic and foreign customers. Such a resolution is in keeping with the needs of the times, expressing the concept of the strategic policy for intensification of the economy. It is our obligation that in all instances we sensitively, attentively and with respect approach this effort of the workers, that we avoid formalism and stereotypes.

We know that a meritorious role in the effective labor struggle is played by brigades of socialist labor and by work teams that compete for that title. In the past days when there took place meetings of representatives of brigades of socialist labor from various sectors, we once again had an opportunity to witness the great strength and increasing influence of this movement, an important input by which it contributes toward generation of material values as well as to refining interpersonal relationships in the spirit of the socialist life style. Thus, its further development certainly deserves our daily care and support.

[Question] What about the combined socialist pledges, the need for which you often emphasize?

[Answer] I am of the opinion that it is they in particular that represent an effective approach already verified in practice to evaluation of the great effort developed by brigades of socialist labor, many and many competing work teams and individual in various enterprises, in investment projects, in research, etc. They are, so to say, their ally in the effort for a common advance. It is so, because through them the uniform current consciously unifies the will and effort of producers and their suppliers in the interest of achieving a higher final effect. And it is specifically in the effort for multiplying the share of top-quality products, products with top technical specifications that combined socialist pledges could become an extraordinary contribution. Therefore, we must overlook the fact that what is going on is treading without making any progress. I reject assertions such as "it cannot be done," as alleged by "bigshots" who obviously do not want to join in. Sure it calls for more effort, for seeking new approaches and possibilities, and especially overcoming of narrowminded selfishness among enterprises. I want to emphasize once again that combined socialist pledges form the path which helps to destroy the artificially nurtured barriers between departmental jurisdictions and enterprises. And we must enter upon this path of significant assertion of socialist involvement, mutual understanding and comradely cooperation for the benefit of all, precisely during our struggle for high quality and efficiency. We witnessed the strength of such cooperation, the strength of mutual comradely cooperation, during the construction and operation of nuclear power plants and we are witnessing it in the cooperative districts in agriculture of the West Slovak Kraj. There is a need to learn this revolutionary practice, draw inspiration from it and apply it everywhere where life calls for it.

[Question] Excuse us, dear Comrade Lenart, for asking in conclusion--what would you like to say in regard to improving the style and methods of work by basic party organizations?

[Answer] I think that the answer flows logically from the contents of what we have been discussion so far. Our times and successful accomplishment of demanding tasks call for significant upgrading of the role of basic organizations, to promote their authority, their influence among nonparty menbers. To that end, it is necessary to improve their internal life, their overall activities and a more persistent acquisition and application of the Leninist style.

In this context, I would like to briefly remark on interpretation of the Leninist style of action, on which I have already commented at another occasion. In the most general terms and, admittedly, considerably simplified, the Leninist style of action is characterized as a combination of revolutionary elan with pragmatism. Herein the Russian term "dyelovitost" is often imprecisely translated as pragmatism, and so it became customary. Personally I am of the opinion that the term "spirit of enterprise" is thematically more adequate, richer, more expressive and apter a term than "pragmatism." It involves, of course, a spirit of socialist enterprise for the benefit of the society and each of its members, and not the enterprise of greedy individuals only for themselves and at the expense of society. I point it out because it is the uniformity of these notes and pages that truly reflects the revolutionary transformation mission of communists and is a synonym for such qualities as talent to create, refine, develop and enrich life, work with a feeling for all that is new and progressive, be its inspirator and implementor.

These are notes that we need everywhere as the sap of life. They should penetrate into the essence; into the multilateral activities of basic party organizations, enable them, in keeping with the needs of mature socialism, to be the revolutionary vanguard in their place of work. It means that we should never be satisfied with what has been accomplished, that we not hide behind the so-called objective reasons, that we do not take more lightly our own mistakes and not shrink away from difficulties, but overcome them, that we see in our own self-improvement and full development and application of the collective whole a force that clears the path forward. Simply--that we appreciate the increasing significance and mission of the subject as a revolutionary factor.

I would like to add that we have always regarded the inherent part of the Leninist style of action to be constituted by a unity of theory and practice, unity of resolution and its implementation, unity of words and deeds. We must systematically demand the principle of unity of words and deeds in the work of all officials and personnel of control organs, from the CPSL Central Committee to basic organizations, from the government to the workshops. It must be applied in evaluation of achieved work results. And the awareness that deeds are the determining and final measure of our conduct must also become the guiding principle for annual membership meetings and party conferences. Let us do our best so that they will result in a distinct increase in the implementation capabilities of each basic organization. So that it becomes reflected in their capability to creatively inspire, convincingly recruit, skillfully organize and prudently guide all workers in factories, in national committees, in cooperatives, in research institutes, in schools or in medical installations. Yes, lead them toward optimally successful accomplishment of tasks stipulated for us by the 16th Party Congress--toward a continued all-round prosperity of our socialist society.

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CSO: 2400/129

TEXT OF CSSR-LIBYA COOPERATION AGREEMENT

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Sep 82 pp 1, 2

[Text of Agreement on Friendship and Cooperation Between Czechoslovakia and Libya]

> [Text] On 8 and 9 September, the highest Libyian official, Col Mu'ammar Qadhafi, paid a 2-day friendly official visit to Czechoslovakia. At the end of the talks, an agreement on friendship and cooperation between both countries was signed. The text of the agreement follows.

The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah wishing to further enhance their friendship and to strengthen mutual cooperation in all areas corresponding to the interests of the people in both friendly countries and the interests of enhancing international peace and security, being resolved in the spirit of anti-imperialist solidarity to contribute to the further strengthening of the unity and cooperation among all progressive and peaceful forces in the fight against imperialism, for peace and freedom of nations and for independence, democracy and social progress, expressing their will to actively continue the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, Zionism and racism in all their forms and expressions, thus confirming their faithfulness to the goals and principles of the UN Charter, especially to the supreme principles of equality and noninterference in internal affairs, emphasizing the significance of further development and reinforcement of their mutual relations, decided to sign this agreement as agreed to as follows:

Article 1

The high parties of the agreement solemnly declare their determination to strengthen friendship between both countries, to continuously develop mutual relations and cooperation all all areas based on equality, to respect sovereignty, political independence, territorial inviolability and noninterference into their internal affairs.

Article 2

The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic appreciates the policies of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, resting on the principles and goals of nonalignment, directed at the fight against imperialism, achievement of national liberation and strengthening peace and cooperation among nations.

The Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya appreciates the foreign policy of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic as a significant contribution to securing peace and strengthening international security and detente.

Article 3

The high parties of the agreement will endeavor to continue to create conditions for reinforcing and further deepening the social and economic achievements of both countries through mutual cooperation.

Toward this goal, they will develop mutually advantageous cooperation in individual areas of the national economy and in science and technology and will expand mutual trade based on the principles of equality and mutual advantage. Specific areas and conditions for this cooperation will be determined by executive documents.

Article 4

The high parties of the agreement will actively support the mutual development of relations and exchange of information in the areas of science and culture, education, health care, press, radio, television, cinematography, sports, tourism and other areas.

They will support the extending of contacts between social organizations and expansion of direct contacts between cultural and scientific institutions in order to know the life, work, experience and achievements of the peoples of both countries.

Article 5

The high parties of the agreement will exert every effort to preserve international peace and security and to strengthen and develop the process of detente, to put an end to arm races and to achieve general and complete disarmament, including nuclear weapons under effective international supervision. They will endeavor to achieve consistent enforcement of the principles of peaceful coexistence in relations between nations with different social systems.

Article 6

The high parties of the agreement will continue to support each other in the struggle against the aggressive policy of world imperialism, for the ultimate elimination of colonialism, Zionism and racism in all their forms and expressions.

In the spirit of unity as anti-imperialist and progressive forces, they will support the just struggle of nations for freedom, independence, sovereignty and social progress and the struggle of nations for full respect of their sovereignty over their natural resources.

Article 7

The high parties of the agreement will consult on all important international problems concerning the immediate interests of both countries.

Article 8

The high parties of the agreement declare that they will not enter any military or other treaties, participate with any group of countries or in military actions or measures aimed against the other high party of the agreement.

Article 9

The high parties of the agreement declare that this agreement does not infringe on their international obligations and is not aimed against any third country. At the same time, both parties pledge themselves not to sign any international agreement in the future, which would be contradictory to the present agreement.

Article 10

Any question which may arise relating to the interpretation or execution of any article of this agreement will be resolved in the spirit of friendship, mutual respect and understanding through direct negotiations between both high parties of the agreement.

Article 11

This agreement is liable to ratification according to the legal requirements of each party to the agreement and will become effective on the day of the exchange of the ratification documents, which will take place in Tripoli.

Article 12

This agreement is made for a period of 10 years and its validity will automatically be extended by 10 years if not canceled by one of the high parties of the agreement, notice of cancellation before the agreed period of 10 years must be given 12 months in advance.

Written in Prague on 9 September 1982 in two original copies, each in Czech and Arabic, with both versions being equally valid.

For the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Gustav Husak

For the Libyan Arabian Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya,
Mu'ammar Qadhafi
9814
CSO: 2400/122

BERLINER CONFERENCE HEAD AGREES WITH BISHOPS' LETTER

Amsterdam DE TIJD in Dutch 14 Jan 83 pp 14-16

[Report by Tom Crijnen: "Otto Fuchs, the Church and Nuclear Arms: 'Thus Future of Catholics in the GDR Looks Very Gloomy.'" Passages in slantlines published in italics.]

> [Text] The catholic bishops in the GDR have broken their silence of many years and have, for the first time, openly taken a position with respect to the arms race. The East German Government did not appreciate that. Is this an isolated action? Or is the church gradually waking up from its political hibernation? "It can't act forever as if it is living on Mars."

"With this pronouncement the Roman Catholic episcopacy has corrected a regrettable omission. It had been keeping silent much too long on this extremely important subject."

Professor Dr Otto H.Fuchs (64) is a controversial figure. As a member of the presidium of the East German CDU [Christian Democratic Union] as well as chairman of the international peace movement Berliner Conference, many people in the East and West see him as a /crypto-communist/. His administrative post in the GDR Peace Council appears to confirm that.

The East German Government, on the other hand, sees Fuchs with some distrust because he unflinchingly clings to catholicism and rejects Marxism-Leninism as a philosophy of life for himself. He sees himself as a "Christian in socialism, not as a Christian Socialist." And "I don't see much in a fundamental-ideological dialogue with Marxism, but I do believe in a practical one."

You don't even have to agree with Fuchs in all respects to still be impressed by his sensible "inside" analysis with respect to the catholic church. Fuchs has many contacts. His information moreover corresponds to what is being said by others, outside of the CDU and the Berliner Conference.

Fuchs proves to be an entertaining speaker who receives the visitor from the Netherlands with old-fashioned, courteous hospitality in the modest, somewhat decrepit Berliner Conference headquarters on the Burgstrasse, in the heart of (East) Berlin. "Here, at the confluence of the Havel and the Spree, the city was founded seven centuries ago." Coffee with cognac lends a charm to the conversation. "Greetings to the friends in the Netherlands."

Growing Unrest

The topic of discussion is the attitude of the East German episcopacy with respect to the communist government, amplified 3 weeks later by Fuchs' reaction by telephone to the recent bishops' pronouncement on peace and security. "I am very happy about that letter, even though I see some things in a different way."

In their letter, the East German bishops also resist the "thinking in military categories" which is taught in school during /preparedness/ instruction, and they support the demand by the evangelical youth for substitute social compulsary service and express their sympathy with people who refuse to enter the military service on religious grounds.

Fuchs: "If the bishops had kept silent even longer about the nuclear arms problem, their prestige in their own circle would have seriously deteriorated. For a long time a growing resistance had been noticeable in some parishes and among part of the clergy. That dissatisfaction surfaced in the spring of 1982 during a meeting of the Action Circle in Halle, a town in Saksen-Anhalt.

Laymen and priests said on that occasion that they found it 'humiliating' that their church, in contrast to that of the protestants, showed so little interest in the peace question. The action group included several hundred members."

Actually, the East German bishops have not been completely silent in the past. For example, 8 years ago the pastoral synod wrote a document entitled "Service of the Church in Reconciliation and Peace." However, the peace question was presented there as a matter of everyone's personal conscience, not as a political task for the entire church community in the GDR.

The Action Circle of Halle correctly pointed out that "only political means can break through the military arms spiral." The pope obviously agreed with that. He told the East German bishops during their "ad limina" [obligatory] visit to Rome (Oct.'82) that they should openly take a position in the peace discussion. That has now taken place. To the great satisfaction of Otto Fuchs.

It is however notable and significant ("crypto-communist") that his qualified happiness -- "I see that military instruction in a different light than the bishops" -- doesn't agree with the destructive criticism which the pastoral writing received from the GDR government. Even though Fuchs does not see a "fundamental difference" between what the episcopacy writes and what the state instructs, the regime has a very different view on that.

Through the official press agency ADN the bishops were accused of letting themselves be misused as messenger boys of the Vatican. With their letter they were supposedly abetting [West] German "revanchism (precisely the CSU [Christian Social Union] of Franz Josef Strauss is berating the East German episcopacy for its weak standpoint) and giving moral support to the enemies of socialism in the GDR.

What further bothered the East German Government, apart from the episcopal criticism to the military lessons, is the fact that the letter rejects the official GDR standpoint of "justified war" and divides the blame for the continuously growing (nuclear) arsenal equally between NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

The sharp reaction of the East German authorities is closely linked to the striving for peace within the evangelical churches, which is seen as a threat. And now the letter has been added to that. Shortly before the publication, Undersecretary for Religious Affairs Herman Kalb said to me: "Our contacts with the Roman Catholic episcopacy are businesslike but fairly good." Is he still of that opinion now?

Passing Evil

In contrast to the Alliance of Evangelical Churches,which does not align itself "for or against, but within socialism," the Roman Catholic episcopacy still sees the German Democratic Republic as a type of unavoidable fate. To quote the deceased bishop of Meissen, Monseigneur Spulbeck: "We're living in a house whose foundations we did not lay."

Otto Fuchs: "This state is seen as a temporary evil, a passing evil. One hibernates and thinks 'we'll survive this too.' Thus no official contacts with the government, no attempts toward dialogue with the leaders. The episcopacy sometimes draws the constitutional division between church and state toward the absurd. That hurts.

For example, its reaction toward the political involvement of the CDU is also cool, and it forbids priests to become members of our party. The same is true for the Berliner Conference. Many catholics don't accept this, evidenced by the fact that over 30 percent of all CDU members are catholic, while the catholics in this land only amount to 8 percent of the total population.

I think that the church with its rejective attitude leaves numerous faithful standing out in the cold. Surely one can no longer afford to deny social reality. And why should one? The more realistic alignment of the evangelical churches proves that a fundamental acceptance of the socialist form of state does not mean that one has to automatically opt for Marxism.

In this manner you merely recognize that you're living in a socialist society and that this fact brings along consequences to which you can furnish your own critical contribution.

The Roman Catholic church unfortunately doesn't see it that way and insists on its apolitical alignment. That is also the reason why you have been able to talk to evangelical bishops, but not to any member of the catholic episcopacy."

Courtesy Visit

"Of course it is not a matter of no contacts at all existing between the catholic church and the socialist government. Some contact is indeed being maintained. Thus, for example, there have been discussions between the bishop of Berlin, Monseigneur Joachim Meisner and Klaus Gysi, the secretary of state for religious affairs. But those were purely work discussions."

/With one exception: the courtesy visit made by Monseigneur Meisner after his recent election as chairman of the East German bishops' conference to the communist party leader, Erich Honnecker, in his capacity as head of state. Could one deduce from this that there is some mobility in the alignment of the episcopacy?/

"For the time being I only see that as a hypothesis, although I don't exclude the possibility that a breakthrough will take place in the end. The catholic church cannot forever act as if it is living on Mars."

he fact is that in the past years there has been direct consultation between Rome and East Berlin. Thus the highest Vatican diplomat, Casaroli, paid a visit to the GDR in the summer of 1975, and John Paul II, shortly after his papal election (Oct.'78), received the East German minister of foreign affairs, Oskar Fischer, in a private audition. Also, the Vatican always officially informs the GDR Government about intended religious appointments, such as for example the promotion of Monseigneur Meisner to cardinal next month.

"Over There."

A sore subject is the fact that four of the six GDR "dioceses" formally still form part of West German bishoprics, even though they have been under the direct supervision of the Vatican since 1973. The latter is also true for Berlin (both East and West) whose bishop actually has his seat in the eastern part of the city, but who is also a "member" of the West German bishops' conference.

The East German Government has been trying for many years already to get the Vatican to establish bishoprics for the GDR itself, so far in vain. However, the Berlin Ordinariate Conference -- the periodical meeting of all ten East German bishops, suffragan bishops and apostolic vicars -- has held the status of independent bishop conference since October 1976.

Fuchs: "The catholic church refuses to follow the example of the evangelical churches in the GDR. The latter broke every /organizational/ tie with their religious associates in the FRG in 1969 as a sign that they accept the GDR and are prepared to align themselves within it in a critical-solidary manner.

The catholic bishops on the other hand are still maintaining close relations with the West German episcopacy. Thus our church is financially supported by the much richer one "over there." That creates dependence, in spite of the fact that our socialist government pays additional millions in order to guarantee the clergy a fair existence and keep the charitable work going."

The latter is self-interest, for that matter. The catholic church, together with the evangelical churches, furnish an important contribution to health care in the GDR. Over 7000 religious collaborators are maintaining 34 catholic hospitals, 118 old age and nursing homes, 14 institutions for the mentally handicapped, 30 children's homes and 80 day care centers. That is an important lightening of the burden for the state, who only has to pay wages. Most of the other costs are paid by the church itself.

Introvert Attitude

With its 1.3 million faithful, the catholic church forms a small minority in a traditionally protestant country (on paper the GDR counts over 8 million evangelic-Lutheran citizens, 49 percent of the total population). Catholics had been discriminated against for centuries in this part of Germany. During the Prussian Kingdom a catholic, for example, could not hold a public office. Also after 1918 nothing changed much for a long time.

Professor Fuchs: "The catholics in East Germany felt as if they were living in the diaspora, in exile. That had a profound effect on their relations with the government. After World War II the introvert, almost pietist religious faith from Silesia was added to that. This partly explains the rejective attitude of the episcopacy toward the GDR state."

The original catholic community, amounting to about ½ million souls, quadrupled when in 1945-46 almost 2 million catholics of German descent left the by then Polish East Prussia and Silesia and settled in East Germany. Some of them later continued on to the FRG.

In one part of the GDR catholics were in the majority, namely in the westernly located Eichfeld where the town of Heiligenstadt even has a Roman Catholic mayor.

Otto Fuchs, confronted with the anti-religious repression in the fifties in Hungary and Czechoslovakia in the fifties: "We never had religious persecution here. Neither the episcopacy nor the lower clergy has ever been hampered in practicing its office. Cloisters remained open; the clergy simply continued to work. Also, church territory has never been confiscated."

Pre-conciliar Church

An ordinary Sunday in Berlin. The dome-shaped Saint Hedwigs Cathedral, built by the 18th century architect Jean Legeay after the ideas of /the old Fritz/ and reconstructed after 1945 in a different manner, is basking in a pale December sun. The church is one third full. There are many senior citizens, children and women. Few youths and men. The service is traditional-"modern," the sermon hollow and vague; communion by hand appears to be unknown here.

No, the catholic church in the GDR doesn't stand out for progressiveness. A chaplain, when asked, says: "This is a church of authoritarian clerks and medieval theologists." That sort of sound is heard remarkably often although sometimes in a weaker form -- and certainly not only in CDU and Berliner Conference circles. For that matter, many say that there are exceptions. Monseigneur Wanke, for example, the apostolic administrator of Erfurt-Meiningen.

Fuchs: "In many respects it is a pre-conciliar church, often with strong conservative traits. The average believer is confronted with such an abstract explanation of the catholic doctrine that he cannot do anything with it in his day to day life. The bishops are afraid that a more progressive theology will weaken the position of the church. In reality they are gradually degrading it into an esoteric sect through their conservatism."

The numbers prove how real the danger is. It is estimated that of the official 1.3 million faithful at most 900,000 are still maintaining a link with the church. The weekly church visit is not over 10 percent according to some, and less and less baptisms are taking place. The number of priests and nuns is decreasing, even though in contrast to many other East bloc countries no limits are set by the state.

"Unreliable" Partners

The East German episcopacy is not leading in the ecumenical area either. The contact with the evangelical churches is stiff and evinces distrust. The latter dates from the time, about 25 years ago, when the top of both religious communities unanimously resisted the /youth ordination/, a ceremony in which the young adult is "dedicated" to the socialist state. During the sixties the protestants ended the resistance and accepted the fact that practically all Christian parents let their children participate in the youth ordination out of fear that their future would otherwise be risked. Since that time the evangelic church leaders are seen as "unreliable" in the eyes of the catholic episcopacy.

Neither during the discussion of the abortion law in parliament (1972) nor during the introduction of "preparedness lessons" in school (1978), no more than when compulsory military service was intensified at the beginning of last year, did the bishops prove to be prepared to collaborate with their protestant colleagues. They published their own declarations of protest, as again this time against nuclear arms.

Otto Fuchs: "If the catholic church doesn't soon abandon its self-chosen isolation, I see its future here as very gloomy."

There are vague indications that Bishop Meisner (50) is aware of that danger. The modest, almost introvert chairman of the East German Bishops' Conference perhaps lacks the charisma which made his predecessor, Cardinal Bengsch, so popular, but on the other hand he appears to be less inclined to withdraw himself into the trenches of selfrighteousness.

This may be the reason why John Paul II two years ago trusted this former bank employee with the "most difficult bishopric in the world" (the pope on Berlin) in order to prepare Meisner for the primacy. Under the new cardinal-to-be, the religious dialogue with the regime might possibly include more than only "some shared housekeeping duties" (Monseigneur Spulbeck in 1956).

8700
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BOOK ON CULTURAL RELATIONS WITH NON-COMMUNIST STATES REVIEWED

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German Vol 16 No 1, Jan 83 (signed to press 21 Dec 82) pp 104-105

["East Berlin's Foreign Cultural Policy"--Review by Hans Lindemann, editor, Deutsche Welle, Cologne; of book "Kulturelle Auslandsbeziehungen der DDR--Das Beispiel Finnland" (GDR's Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries--The Example of Finland) by Dr Peter Luebbe, former lecturer, German Studies Institute, Jyvaskyla University, Finland; now academic writer in Landshut, FRG; published by Research Institute of Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Bonn-Bad Godesberg, 1981, 488 pages, DM 7.65]

[Text] Up to now very few detailed reports on the GDR's cultural relations with foreign countries have been published in the Federal Republic of Germany. We must therefore welcome Peter Luebbe's efforts to tackle this issue and, using the example of Finland, examine East Berlin's methods for staking out its cultural turf. However, patience is needed because nobody should expect to find all the answers in the first chapters of the book. Not until chapter V, "On GDR Relations With Finland," beginning on page 67, are we slowly initiated in the GDR's cultural efforts in Finland.

This should not be taken to mean that the chapters following the introduction are uninteresting. On the contrary. They point out less known if not totally unknown satirical remarks such as that by Saxon comic Eberhard Cohrs (now residing in the FRG), that capitalism makes social mistakes while socialism makes capital mistakes. Of course some readers may not quite see why they should first concern themselves with "Lenin and 'peaceful coexistence'," the role of the armed forces, coexistence and detente or "economic cooperation," if they are simply hungering to learn something about the GDR's cultural relations with Finland.

Peter Luebbe is an expert on conditions in Finland. After all, he worked there for 3 years as a lecturer at the German Studies Institute, Jyvaskyla University, and was thus able to gain a good deal of insight in the GDR's cultural efforts in Finland. When someone has lived in the country for such a long time and, before tackling this comprehensive and very thorough report, traveled to the country yet again in order once more conscientiously to review all the facts, the temptation is great to relate a great deal about GDR-Finnish relations that does not directly refer to East Berlin's cultural relations with Helsinki. It is certainly good to learn, for example, that the topic (very tiresome indeed to the GDR) of restitution for the damage and destruction wrought in Finland by Hitler's forces in World War II has still not been resolved, because East Berlin keeps skillfully postponing a settlement. Luebbe's book also reports on the visit to Finland of (then) GDR Council of State Chairman Stoph, the conclusion of the consular treaty, relations between the SED and the Finnish Communist Party, SED contacts with the Social Democratic Party of Finland, reciprocal visits by army officers, and much else.

Of particular interest is the chapter "From Protocol on Cultural Affairs to Treaty on Cultural Affairs," because it includes largely unknown facts. Who knows that, before 1976, the State Censorship Office in Helsinki banned the showing of six GDR films because such showing might have troubled relations with other countries? Also revealing is the description of the GDR Cultural Center's operations in Helsinki and the"instructions about limits" to be observed by its personnel and, generally, all GDR citizens working in Finland. To cite an example: There, too, all contacts with West Germans must be avoided.

Even before diplomatic relations with Finland were established, the GDR assigned great value to its presence in that country. This is demonstrated by the fact that the GDR-Finland Friendship Society was established in 1956 and is therefore the oldest GDR friendship society in a non-communist country. However, its influence is evidently none too great because it did not boast more than 2,000 member in 1976, while the Finland-Soviet Union Society had a membership of 120,000.

Some readers may be surprised to learn that city partnerships are in operation between 17 Finnish and GDR cities, and the GDR therefore ranks sixth among the countries maintaining such partnership with Finland, immediately after the FRG. Of course it is impossible to compare the intensity of Finnish city partnerships with cities in communist countries. After all, there is no private travel whatever by GDR residents to Finland.

The author describes in great detail the course of GDR culture days in various Finnish cities.

It is an exception, at least in the non-communist part of Europe, for the GDR to provide aid for the training of Finnish CP officials, and not only by the supply of sociological books. On the other hand, contrary to the author's opinion, this is not the only such agreement concluded by a GDR facility with the training school of a communist party outside the Eastern group of countries. In several developing countries of Africa and Asia, SED establishments cooperate with training schools of the so-called advance guard parties.

Citing many examples, Luebbe shows that many GDR-Finnish cultural relations operate on a one-way street. While Finnish students attend summer camps in the GDR, GDR students are not allowed to travel to corresponding summer camps in Finland. It has even happened that GDR authorities banned a group of young Christians from Finland from taking part in an ecumenical youth conference in the GDR.

Finnish demand for novels from the GDR is very weak, and only few books published in the GDR may be found in Finnish libraries. That is a phenomenon also noted in other non-communist industrial countries. Luebbe further describes in great detail (some 20 pages) the contacts between the Protestant churches of Finland and the GDR. We learn here that the Finnish Church has given substantial amounts of money to the

Church in the GDR. It goes without saying that the self-immolation of preacher Bruesewitz in the GDR (summer 1976) aroused tremendous interest in a Protestant country like Finland. It is equally obvious that the press reacted sharply against the GDR on this issue, just as is the fact that Wolf Biermann's deprivation of citizenship a few months later earned hostile comments in the Finnish press.

Peter Luebbe's book is to be recommended reading for anyone interested in the GDR's cultural relations with other countries. It includes a lot of well documented material.

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TWO BOOKS ON PREMILITARY EDUCATION REVIEWED

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German Vol 16 No 1, Jan 83 (signed to press 21 Dec 82) pp 106-108

/"Military Propaganda and Premilitary Education"--Review by Dr Arnim Brux, researcher, Ruhr University, Bochum, and Ulrike Brux, social science teacher, Hattingen Gymnasium; of Wolfgang Henrich's book "Das unverzichtbare Feindbild: Hasserziehung in der DDR" (The Indispensable Enemy Image: Education in Hatred in the GDR), published by Hohwacht Verlag, Bonn, 1981, 111 pages; and of Bernd Proell's book "Vormilitaerische Erziehung in beiden deutschen Staaten--vergleichbare Vorbereitung auf den Wehrdienst? Beschreibung, Analyse, Bewertung, Dokumentation" (Premilitary Education in Both German States--Comparable Preparations for Military Service? Description, Analysis, Evaluation, Documentation), published by Haag und Herchen Verlag, Frankfurt/Main, 1980, 212 pages, DM24.80/

/Text/ Renewed topicality and attention has been gained by military and paramilitary training in the GDR as a consequence of the new GDR law on military service that became effective on 1 May 1982, and by the smoldering peace movement 3½ years after the introduction of military instruction as a compulsory subject at secondary schools. To be mentioned in this context are two publications by Western authors who are dealing with the (a)pedagogical subject "military training." The two, though, set different emphases. While Henrich isolates a central issue--military propaganda--, Proell makes an attempt at a comparative analysis of military training in the two German states--an attractive topic to be sure.

Proell describes the goals and measures of premilitary training in the GDR, cites system-related criticisms and questions the efficacy of premilitary education. Subsequently he discusses the treatment of military issues in FRG schools based on similar criteria. The author assumes that military educational measures in the Federal Republic are limited entirely to schools. A direct comparison is made only in the last chapter, where he raises the question whether the preparations for military service in the two German states are in fact comparable.

The author's description of the goals and measures of military education in the GDR offers nothing new to the knowledgeable reader. Following a short and general introduction to the goals, he describes the tasks of the party organization, the parental home, the school, the Pioneer and FDJ organizations, the Society for Sports and Technology (GST) and other social forces (local people's representatives, and so on) relating to the premilitary education of children and juveniles. Proell provides a superficial survey--he terms this approach "exemplary" (p 4)--briefly mentioning the Hans Beimler Competition, not mentioning at all the children's review BUMMI, citing merely disjointed examples of the many tasks assigned the GST and the various school subjects. In fact, he more or less limits himself to an agglomeration of quotes. Since military education in the GDR has been dealt with in far greater detail and more systematically by other authors, we will refrain from further discussion.

As regards the system-relevant critique, that is criticism by persons and groups in the GDR, Proell emphasizes the well-known objections raised by the churches. In a letter from the Protestant Church leaders to the GDR Government, dated 19 June 1978, the writers doubt that military instruction is in fact a suitable means for securing peace and evoke the danger that early familiarity with military attitudes and behavior may prevent the use of the opportunities arising for the peaceful settlement of conflicts and are therefore likely to provide an obstacle to genuine disarmament consciousness (p 27). As regards the question of the efficacy of premilitary education, Proell consults various empirical investigations from the GDR and the article by Schmitt.* Citing Schmitt, he arrives at the following conclusion: "If, in conclusion, we compare the standards set by the goals of premilitary education with the educational results demonstrated by empirical findings, we note a good deal of divergence. Furthermore we must assume that even positive attitudes--where they exist--are not entirely effective with regard to behavior" (p 34).

In view of the educational sovereignty of the Laender, the FRG's federal system does not boast of a standardized regulation concerning the treatment of military issues. As a result guidelines differ sharply. Advocates of peace pedagogy consider "Lower Saxony's 'peace assurance edict' the most 'liberal,' because it explicitly allows conscientious objection to be discussed as part of the instruction course. Conversely they regard the Baden-Wuerttemberg rule as a "military knowledge edict, as a reaction to which a boycott had been considered at the time of its introduction" (p 35).

Proell briefly reports on the handling of this issue in Schleswig-Holstein and Baden-Wuerttemberg. Subsequently he lists study groups, seminars, further educational courses for teachers and organizations (such as the Society for Military Knowledge) that are concerned with the topic school-Bundeswehr (defense, and so on), and describes the Bundeswehr's defense propaganda aimed at students. However, the reader will look in vain for textual aspects of military education. The appendix carries a stnopsis of the Bundeswehr information and press staff, and this provides a survey of the situation with regards to edicts and curriculums in all federal Laender.

Proell includes various studies in his chapter on the "Efficacy of the Treatment of Military Topics in the Schools of the Federal Republic of Germany." Analyses of sociological school books (by the Bundeswehr Sociological Institute), a poll of teachers on the treatment of topics relevant to defense (INFAS) and a poll of 1979 graduates (Warnke/Mosmann) are designed to demonstrate that the group of topics "security--national defense--Bundeswehr" is relatively rarely dealt with in sociological instruction.

Proell's last chapter is intended to offer a comparison between preparations for military service in the GDR and the FRG. However, this comparison increasingly turns into special pleading for greater emphasis on military topics in the schools of the Federal Republic. Students are to be enabled to arrive at their "independent and reasoned political judgment" (p 57). "The youth confronting the decision between military service, alternative service...or conscientious objection, requires (earlier) foundations that are needed for him to weigh the pros and cons" (pp 57f). Thus far we are in agreement. Unfortunately, as shown in the structure of the book and the final passages ("the school is not alone responsible for preparing our youth for military service" (p 59), the author seems less concerned for military education to enable students to act competently and independently. He seems far more interested in persuading young people of the necessity of military service. That is probably the reason for the absence of texts from the peace pedagogical discussion in the extensive bibliography. In this meaning the book itself has a military propagandist effect.

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* Schmitt, K: "On the Efficacy of Political Education in the GDR," in "Politics and Contemporary History," supplement to the weekly DAS PARLAMENT, No 23/1978, 10 June 1978, pp 36-50.

Wolfgang Henrich's book also is accompanied by many documents. However, here they are not appended in a separate section but integrated and commented in the text. Henrich provides a compelling though somewhat polemic description of the psychologically based propaganda in the GDR that serves to sketch the image of the "ugly" West German in order to arouse fear among the people. "Fears that may and are intended to turn into hatred of the West, especially the FRG and the Bundeswehr" (p 14). Education in hatred of the class enemy and the development of a white/black friend/enemy image are customary pedagogical principles in the GDR. They are supposed to be used initially in the parental home and the nursery school. The intention behind them may be outlined something like this: Positive affection for the GDR and love for the socialist fatherland are to be nurtured, the measures of the GDR Government to "defend" the fatherland (such as the construction of the Wall) legitimized and, finally, defense morale is to be raised on an emotional base by persuading the people of the necessity to defend the achievements of really existing socialism against the permanent threat offered by the "imperialist aggressor, lusting for revenge" (p 42).

Henrich documents his conclusions with many examples. He also examines the historico-ideological causes and conditions as well as the psychologically refined mechanisms of suggestion used to achieve the desired goals. He is quite justified in reminding us that such an education in hatred directly contradicts the basic treaty (p 111) and surely also the CSCE agreements.

At the same time we must mention some objections to Henrich's book. The author does not attempt with the aid of empirical investigations to ask whether and in how far the propagation of an enemy image has in fact the hoped for impact on the people. Influenced by familiarity with Western media and contacts with visitors from the FRG, official propaganda may well lack credibility with the people and possibly result in contrary effects.

We must furthermore mention that, though not intending to compare systems, Henrich implicitly offers a comparison after all. He claims, for example, that there is no premilitary education in the FRG (p 108) nor an enemy image projected (p 10). The latter may hold true for official government policy. Still, in order to be able to generalize such a statement, it needed not the global verdict offered by Henrich but far more extensive and critical studies that he does not provide.

In view of the reservations expressed, both books may be recommended only conditionally for use in the field of political education.

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POLITBURO MEMBER DISCUSSES PARTY GOALS

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 31 Dec82-1-2 Jan 83 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Professor Zbigniew Messner, member of the Politburo, first secretary of the Voivodship Committee of the Polish United Workers Party in Katowice, by Stanislaw Wojtek: "We are on the Right Track"; date and place not indicated]

[Text] [Question] It has been almost a year since the day when you assumed the post of first secretary of the Voivodship Party Committee in Katowice. How does a scholar feel in this new and unusually responsible role after a year?

[Answer] The answer to this question is not easy at all. There are several reasons for this. For a long time, there have been sort of two natures in me--one, of a scholar; and another, of a social and political activist. For many years, the first was prevalent. Now, it is just the opposite. I feel, above all, like a party activist. Although, I still maintain contact with the university, at which I worked a long time. I look at my present job with a feeling of responsibility, and even with a certain kind of fear as to whether I will manage to meet the expectations of others.

Am I actually fulfilling them now? I would not like to evaluate myself. I think though, that the experience I have accumulated during the outgoing year enables me to perform my duties more effectively. My valuable team of coworkers has also made an important contribution to this. Also, the situation in the voivodship is much better now, than in January when I took over the position of first secretary of the Voivodship Party Committee. To a great extent, it is linked with the particular solutions that have been implemented in the whole country to a great advantage in strengthening the process of normalization and stabilization. Taking all these facts into consideration, I can state, that today I feel that I am much more able to fulfill the unusually responsible functions than when I was first appointed. I would not like to be misunderstood at this point. The improvement in my feeling has nothing to do with self-satisfaction. In no case do I believe that I know everything best, nor that I do everything best. Let me emphasize once again that, currently, I find myself more and more useful in party work.

[Question] What skills and experience gained from research have become of use in party activity and enable you, comrade, to better and more effectively solve different problems?

[Answer] I think, that the knowledge accumulated and the scholarly resources acquired are most helpful. Due to this, I can—at least that is my impression—properly analyze certain phenomena, based on certain symptoms draw synthetic conclusions, which in turn, facilitate making a proper decision. Aside from the skills which I have acquired as an academic teacher, the skill of making contact with people and talking with them, which I learned from teaching, has also been very useful. By working with young people, I got used to approach everyone I talk with, with great confidence. It has its good sides, but not only. Sometimes, this confidence is abused. I prefer, however, to pay this price than limit my contacts with people. By talking with them frequently, explaining certain issues, we can gain much more than with unilaterally made arbitrary decisions.

[Question] When you are taking the rudder of the voivodship party organization, you stated that one of the most important goals that you set for yourself, would be the effort to change the attitude of the ordinary people towards the party in general, and towards the party committee in particular. You said that one of your goals would be for the committee buildings, which were bypassed and often attacked between August 1980 and December 1981, to be once again visited and loved by people, so that they would have to come to them, convinced that here they could find care for the most important matters. Has this goal been successfully achieved yet?

[Answer] It is not possible to answer this question in black and white. I have to explain the problem. In the years 1980-1981, because of mistakes made and publicized, as well as because of malicious propaganda raised by the enemies of the party, people regarded the committees differently. After all, let's be honest, people looked at the committees in different ways, some thought well of them and some did not. It depended on the style of work of the party apparatus. Based on the same criterion, every representative of the party apparatus was evaluated separately; and, because many people tend to generalize their judgment—which I am definitely against—the whole apparatus, then, was talked about mostly negatively, hurting many of its honest, reliable employees. This was the price paid for too directive, arbitrary style of work in the 1970's. Therefore, when assuming the post of first secretary of the Voivodship Committee, I resolved not to allow previous mistakes to be repeated. My whole idea in this area relies on the fact that the party, which plays the leading role in the socialist system, in building this system and strengthening its basic principles is supposed to serve the people and be useful to them. As it has been formulated some time ago, the party should lead the people who are dissatisfied. Dissatisfied with revealed deficiencies; bureaucracy, which complicates their lives. That is why I think that in the party we should aim—at every level—at bringing people who live—let us say conditionally—around the committee, at completing the drafted plans so that people revolving around the committee, for the committee is not just a building, but also people who are organized and committed to fulfilling the program set out; that is to say, that all rank-and-file party members and nonmembers should come to the committees with their problems and should meet with friendly and concrete help in their solution.

Sometimes, there are insoluble problems; but then, it is necessary to tell the person openly and honestly why nothing can be done. Based on this, among other things, it is possible to gain his or her confidence.

[Question] By the way, could you give a more precise opinion with regard to confidence in the party? Is it increasing?

[Answer] Based on my observation, however subjective it may be, as well as based on the incoming information from the field, I can say that this confidence is really increasing. This is happening gradually, that is far from our expectations, but still it is an undeniable fact. I often hear opinions that the party visibly takes care of people's problems, thinks about them, and wants to find the solutions. This is encouraging. Even more so, because we should remember that this solution is limited by objective difficulties stemming from a deep economic crisis. While trying to meet people's needs, we have created in our Voivodship Committee a special intervention group that has helped many people. Its activity is respected as I learn from letters, among other things mailed directly to me. I am also aware that we still have determined enemies and people who are against us. But, I think, that the group of those against us is shrinking. The party's activity is meeting with greater and greater understanding and support. This phenomenon is noticeable on all levels of the voivodship party organization.

[Question] And what is, at the present moment, the condition of the voivodship party organizations? What do you consider to be its greatest pluses and where do you still detect threats?

[Answer] The summing up, let us say, of the present condition of the voivodship party organization was made possible by a reporting campaign carried out in most of the party cells. We have to admit that there is a considerable revival in the basic party organizations. And this is most important. The offensive spirit of the leadership and the activity of rank-and-file members of the party have increased, too. If we had to make an estimate based on this, we have to say that the condition of the party in the Katowice Voivodship is improving, especially in the large factories. It can be seen everywhere, of course, that party people have begun to believe in the program that was set out at the Ninth Congress and which is being carried out with determination and persistence. This is the only way out of the crisis. This conviction is universally shared by working people. We are starting to move ahead in the right direction. Of course, we notice certain weaknesses, immobility, and passiveness. If most party organizations show a revival; there are still groups in which party cells are not properly active. This applies mainly to the intelligentsia circles. And these are the areas which we must consider in our work, and on which we have to intensify our influence.

[Question] More and more often we can encounter the claim that the party authorities are regaining efficiency and dynamism. And also, that they manage to solve successfully many urgent problems; but, there also appear questions about the long-term socio-economic development. We know that the main directions set forth by the Ninth Congress have not lost any of their relevance. Would you like to present your opinion about issues of particular importance both in the country and the voivodship?

[Answer] At the Ninth Congress, we have provided a precise program for the country to emerge from the crisis. Afterwards, the details of this program were worked out at subsequent plenary sessions of the Central Committee. The project of the three-year plan which was developed by the government and with broad consultation of experts, serves this purpose. We know, then, in which direction we are heading. What do we want to achieve? First of all, gain control over the food market; or more broadly speaking, the food sector of the economy. Is it possible? I think that in spite of all the difficulties intensified to significant extent by the acts of external factors, particularly the U.S. sanctions, that it is possible to gain control over the food market. It should get better not in eight or ten years, but in a year, and further improvements should occur in two years. After all, today, everyone who objectively observes the food market has to admit that everybody has been provided with the rationed goods. Provision of these goods in this field is adequate.

In comparison to last year, we have made a step forward. There may occur, of course, some vacillations resulting from deeper and deeper problems caused by unfavorable weather, or, which are the consequences of the above-mentioned sanctions which continue to hurt us; but, at the same time, it must be emphasized that even with these limitations, with the western blockade against our economy, we are being helped by the fraternal, socialist countries, in particular, the Soviet Union, and have succeeded in getting many areas going again. The second goal that we have to reach, has to do with reviving all branches of industry.

We can already say that the economy is rising due to the mining industry, mainly coal mining. It is a matter, however, of freeing it from all kinds of pressures and stoppages and assuring proper conditions so that the economy would fulfill the most important needs of the market.

The third important goal confronting us is to develop the housing industry which had collapsed for many reasons. Improvement is on its way; possibilities of solving the housing problem are becoming apparent. But, it is a matter not only of constructing apartment houses and handing out keys, but also providing a complete infrastructure, so that people could have a place to live in as well as a chance to live a decent life.

The next important problem concerns transportation. We have to realize that if we do not improve its operation, the problems with carrying freight will increase. In our conditions, it has an influence on the level of exports. And our exports will determine, in turn, to a great degree the length of time necessary to overcome the crisis, assuring the supply of money needed for the purchase of raw materials, machinery, components and parts, without which our economy cannot survive. That is the way the most important tasks look, which we want to and must accomplish. Both nationwide and in our voivodship. In addition to this, there are local, specific problems calling for an urgent solution. I am thinking about effective protection of the environment, about overcoming mining disasters with which our region is plagued. Bytom, currently, preoccupies our attention. Whole teams of experts are working on this; first, in order to assure the miners' safety; and second, in order to prevent the destruction of residential and public buildings. We are working equally intensively on the idea of a rational development of the power plant network in our voivodship. The plans to develop the passenger transportation and improving the region's water supply are our main concerns. In short, we must level out the disproportions between industrial development and the development of the infrastructure in the broadest sense.

[Question] Beyond the issues which you have mentioned, comrade professor, we would be interested in matters as important for the proper functioning of the state and for the welfare of the society as: the future of the democratic system, further democratization of social and political relations, methods of perfecting personnel policy, and successful implementation of decisions.

[Answer] At this point, we have to emphasize fully that starting from August 1980, the party has remained faithful to its own call for renewing the sociopolitical and economic life of the country. In spite of the fact that political opponents rejected certain solutions, the process of incorporation into the government system of all the powers and circles, which count in Poland, as well as the process of democratizing life, has not slowed down for a moment even after the introduction of martial law. The Sejm has been working intensively all the time and issued tens of important statutes thanks to which it became possible to reform many areas of life. Further rules are being prepared among others, dealing with national councils. This shows that the party and state authorities have chosen a steady course for strengthening democracy and democratization of sociopolitical relations. They are giving them a genuine, not just a facade.

Moreover, everything that is done within the Patriotic Movement Of National Rebirth, the trade unions, self-governments, municipal governments, etc. is not just a tactical maneuver; but confirms that there really is no going back before 1980. But, at the same time, institutions are being created which would prevent practices dating from before December 1981; simply, the democratization of life cannot lead to anarchy. That is, so that society could participate in governing the country taking into consideration, of course, the principles of building socialism in our country.

[Question] I would like to refer back to the last question. Even the best intentions will not bring the expected results if they are not realized by the right people and in a properly consistent manner. And in the past we have not had a lot of either.

[Answer] The right people in the right place and effective execution of the right decisions really are a big problem. The best intentions may be misinterpreted or wasted if the right executors or consistency are lacking. Therefore, a maximum effort must be devoted to personnel policy. This means that certain posts must be filled by people who, first of all, are professionally qualified, and second, who are of upright character. It is both possible and necessary to reach for competent people from outside of the party. Under one condition—that they accept our country's sociopolitical system. Personnel policy should rely on the rules, which by the way, are commonly accepted, that the best people should fill the most responsible posts. We are already trying to carry out this rule.

The fact that we do not always achieve the proper result is another matter. Sometimes bad habits, prejudice, and psychological barriers surface, and we msut break them down. This is also vital in the area of executing the taken decisions. Everybody can learn from a basic management textbook that government depends equally on issuing decisions and on supervising their execution. This is where our weakness was until recently. I think that it still occurs, however a significant improvement occurred in 1982. Among other things, due to the work of military operational groups it turned out that the systematic controls mobilized people to increase the quality of their work. We will continue to clarify this direction. The Party cannot for a single moment at any level renounce its supervisory function, of course, properly interpreted and fulfilled.

[Question] We are entering the new year—1983. What would you like to wish the people of the Katowice Voivodship, both as the first secretary of the Voivodship Committee and, at the same time, as chairman of the Voivodship National Council.

[Answer] My wishes should be reduced to one sentence: I hope we will be able to accomplish everything that we plan. Then, people would live more peacefully and better. When extending sincere New Year's wishes, I would like to add, that I am dreaming about further improvement, so that every day in 1983 should bring greater improvement in every area of our life; especially, where negligence is most severe. I hope that the New Year will bring stabilization to the situation in our country in general; and in our voivodship, in particular. Let us hope for the year 1983--assuming that everybody will work with internal discipline and reliability, that I was taught in Silesia--so that it will be a year in which we will begin to emerge from the crisis. It would be very good if we can, with the end of next year, say that we have accomplished a great deal of work. I am aware that life is still very hard for people and that there are so many difficulties, many deficiencies, and even unfair treatment. Let us hope that the new year will enable us to do away with all kinds of evil, to make up for errors, and to make a bigger step forward, than in the last twelve months; a step which would be perceived by all the citizens of our voivodship.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

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CZECHOWICZ INTERVIEWED ON POLITICAL, ECONOMIC SITUATION

Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No 2, 10 Jan 83 p 6

[Interview given to POGLED by Tadeusz Czechowicz, member of the Polish United Workers' Party Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Lodz PZPR Committee, conducted by special correspondent Evgeniy Stanchev: "The Renaissance Has Become Reality"]

[Text] [Question] We know that quite recently a number of voices were heard, not only on the part of the opposition but within party ranks as well, questioning the party's "interference" in economic affairs. The 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum paid great attention to the problem of how the party should direct processes of socioeconomic development in the light of the decisions of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress. Has a unified viewpoint been adopted on this question?

[Answer] Both during the plenum and during the discussions which preceded it, the party unanimously approved its unwillingness to enter the "kitchen" of economics and to excessively deal with specific problems in this area. Its main objective is for the planning process in the economy to become a matter involving everyone. The party must earmark the main directions in the country's development as a whole and in its individual areas in particular.

[Question] Could you formulate this in more specific terms?

[Answer] The basic thesis of the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum and of the discussion which is taking place within the party is that it must resolve strategic problems and give directions to the economy and deal with its modeling.

[Question] How can the functioning of the program for economic reform and, particularly, reforms in terms of the style and methods of economic management be assessed?

[Answer] Despite the major difficulties experienced by our country, Poland has a relatively modern economic potential and highly skilled cadres. For this reason, the attention is being focused on how to make use of these factors. Above all, we must upgrade the effectiveness of management. We must achieve a better coordination between the structure of our industry and economic requirements and the need for a more active participation of our economy in the international division of labor and, more especially, cooperation with CEMA, with the Soviet Union above all. However, this does not mean ignoring our contacts with the developed industrial countries without, naturally, tying such contacts to political conditions.

[Question] What changes in the economic structure are currently on the agenda?

[Answer] Today, above all, it is urgently necessary to make changes in the structure of the production process in the food industry and agriculture. We do not conceal that we are facing problems with redirecting some enterprises which have engaged so far in using investments which could be made in the production of consumer goods. A great deal remains to be desired on the question of the more efficient utilization of manpower. This is a particularly difficult problem caused mainly by the poor demographic structure of our society today. In recent years the percentage of people who are not at work, i.e., the number of children, adolescents and retirees--has increased in terms of the overall population size. This has raised the question of the development of industry against a background of manpower shortages in some economic sectors. The question was raised of how to involve the retired in the production process. The government was asked to submit its views on this problem. Also on the agenda is the question of developing production on the basis of modernization and technical progress.

[Question] Does the question of the quality of goods arise during this period of commodity shortages?

[Answer] This is an important and topical problem. It has been repeatedly discussed and a number of interesting suggestions have been made. It is mandatory to surmount during this period requirements for basic goods such as shoes and clothing, children's clothing in particular. Of late, however, some negative phenomena developed. Some people decided that given the shortage of a number of articles they could produce and sell substandard goods. We are successfully struggling with this phenomenon, which is particularly harmful from the social viewpoint, through the Committee for Science and Technical Progress and the party organizations.

[Question] What is the situation with food supplies?

[Answer] Some successes have already been achieved within the overall set of problems related to supplying the population with comestible goods. Statistical data show that not only the extracting but the processing industry as well has increased its volume of output.

[Question] What is the situation here, in Lodz?

[Answer] Our province has a developed industry, mainly in the production of consumer goods. What have we done after the plenum? Above all, during the autumn and winter period we predisposed the people to be willing to work on Saturdays.

[Question] What does "predisposing" mean? Do you mean that you have made it possible or that you have created somehow an interest in this?

[Answer] We created both an interest and prerequisites. This is based on voluntary participation. Whoever is willing can go to work on Saturday and be paid for his work. During the autumn and the winter the people do not have such extensive opportunities for taking walks, engaging in sports and other entertainment. As you can see, here it becomes dark at roughly 3 pm. Many people would rather work. I repeat, this is voluntary.

We adopted a modernization program for the least productive industrial sectors such as the textile industry, involving our own machinery, or machinery produced by CEMA countries. We are paying a great deal of attention to problems related to the optimal utilization of working time. We are introducing a new wage system related to labor productivity, which is already operating successfully.

[Question] I heard in Warsaw that the stores in Lodz were better supplied than those in the capital. Is this true?

[Answer] Allow me to answer with an example borrowed from fact: your neighbor's wife is always more beautiful than yours. Such is the case here: but we are constantly being criticized about matters being better elsewhere. We are trying to supply the city as well as is possible.

[Question] Therefore, nevertheless this may be possible?

[Answer] Only to a certain degree. For example, the above-planned output of our textile industry will go to the stores in Lodz and those of the voyevodstvo. Therefore, it will be easier to find here some items compared to other cities throughout the country.

[Question] Are you speaking specifically of textile goods or foodstuffs as well?

[Answer] The same principle applies to food we produce. Naturally, however, we are doing what is necessary to avoid a disproportion--to have luxury here and a lack elsewhere. There is only one Poland which should not be divided into provinces.

[Question] Based on some of my personal impressions gathered in Warsaw, I have the feeling that black marketeering is a topical problem and that, if you will forgive me for the unethical statement, its scale is rather impressive to a person coming from Bulgaria, for example. Are you waging a successful struggle against black marketeers?

[Answer] My dear man, I believe that we shall resolve the problem of the black market when an adequate amount of goods appears on the market.

[Question] This is quite logical. Nevertheless, is something being done in that direction?

[Answer] Naturally, we are taking extensive measures involving the participation of the workers and the special organs in the struggle against black marketeering. However, I wonder whether the ability of the Poles to trade is a positive quality or a fault? During the occupation, for example, this helped us to survive, whereas now it is a negative phenomenon. Today black marketeering is disorganizing our life and harming the people who ask us to fight it seriously. I personally believe that the most radical measure against it is proper market supplies. The problem can never be resolved through administrative measures.

[Question] Comrade Czechowicz, Western propaganda and the counterrevolutionary forces within the country frequently speak of a crisis within the party. What is the truth?

[Answer] We do not conceal what is taking place in our party. We are working, so to say, with the curtain raised. It is known that during the past our party suffered severe losses. It was left by people who were a burden to the party and who, at a certain point, were working against it. However, we were also abandoned by people who were valuable but who failed to withstand the enemy's pressure. I must say that at the Ninth Extraordinary Congress and at subsequent plenums the party unanimously spoke out in favor of unity and proclaimed its loyalty to Marxism-Leninism. Those who set up factional groups and tried to break up the party from within have now either been removed from its ranks or have no influence whatever on its organizational life.

[Question] An accountability campaign is currently under way within the party, which also could be described as programmatic, in the middle of the electoral term. What are your impressions regarding its development?

[Answer] I have attended conferences held at many plant committees and city and municipal conferences. The provincial conference will take place in February. Let me say that the party has eliminated all centrifugal trends which destroy its unity. Their echo may still be heard here and there but they are minimal and have no substantial influence. We note within the party, on a mass scale, a common will and desire for unity. We have a clearly defined political enemy who we must fight rather than break up our own ranks. We are pleased that at all these conferences the attention is focused on the party program and on the means of leading the country out of the crisis and the question of the unification of the people.

[Question] What is the role of the sociopolitical organizations in such a complex and, I would say, historical process?

[Answer] We are guided by a very simple and clear principle: the party cannot have a monopoly on resolving all problems facing the country. We believe that the party will work well once it is able to energize the activeness of all social and political organizations operating on the basis of the country's constitution in leading Poland out of the crisis. That is why the party is the initiator and helper in the activities of all social and political organizations.

[Question] Is the implementation of such a broad task without problems?

[Answer] We are still experiencing many difficulties. Since for a long period of time the party was involved with its internal problems, we are still short of definitely elaborated ways and means of work with party members working in other organizations.

[Question] Including the trade unions?

[Answer] Yes, including the trade unions also. However, on this subject I frequently repeat that there is no shortage in Poland either of jobs or medals. Everyone can show his possibilities and be recognized. This is based on the party's general line: on the one hand, struggle for unity; on the other, struggle against the political enemy.

[Question] You mentioned the political enemy. Are there grounds for speaking of a political crisis in the country?

[Answer] The political circumstances cannot be described simply. In Poland the political enemy was defeated and no longer represents a direct threat to the security of the state and society.

[Question] But I know that the counterrevolutionary sources are organizing clandestine activities on a long-range basis, with plans for a so-called "long march," which means making preparations to fight the party many years into the future....

[Answer] Yes, when I say that the enemy is defeated I do not mean in the least that he has laid down his arms. He is receiving substantial support from the reaction in the Western countries. It is obvious that now the enemy will focus his attention on the social, domestic and economic problems within the society. Since such problems will remain for a while, the enemy will be able to find strong support among some social groups.

[Question] In this case what could be expected regarding the future?

[Answer] What is satisfactory is that recent events have eloquently proved the increased consciousness of the working people and the widespread conviction that unless we produce our national income ourselves we would be unable to improve the situation of the people through political provocations or strikes. That is why our basic task is to be in close contact above all with the working class and for the state and political system to engage in activities which will ensure the workers well-organized jobs and, based on possibilities, proper consumer goods. Our society is clearly aware of the fact that it will take a long time until everyone's needs and wishes have become fully satisfied.

[Question] Is the party's and the state's leadership optimistic regarding the possibility of resolving the basic economic problems within a short time?

[Answer] Above all, what we had planned for 1982 was achieved. Many enterprises faced the question of whether they would remain open or be closed down. Now, thanks to the help of the Soviet Union and the better coordination of the economic units within the CEMA system we were able to secure basic industrial raw materials for production purposes. We were able to ensure the normal functioning of the power industry. Marketing difficulties declined and supplies to the citizens improved. The most important thing, however, is that the atmosphere in the enterprises improved. A greater consolidation and unity are obvious. This has helped labor productivity as well to increase.

[Question] How is this being achieved in practical terms--voluntarily, through persuasion or by eliminating any other way of behavior?

[Answer] Above all, the people became more conscious and the trend toward confrontation is disappearing. Furthermore, the political enemy realizes that he has no further chances of misleading and manipulating public opinion. This was exemplified on 10 November 1982 when a general strike was planned by some circles. The working class firmly stated that it had had sufficient strikes. It has answered with a "No!" all efforts to engage in destructive actions. Our strength lies in the fact that for a long time the political opposition raised nothing but a rejection program. However, people with common sense know that this road leads nowhere.

[Question] Does this mean that the majority of the Polish people are well aware of the nature, the roots and the profound reasons for the crisis in which Poland found itself?

[Answer] Political consciousness and the attitude shown by the Poles toward history have become considerably enhanced lately. Discussions will continue for a long time, for most workers were not criticizing the principles on which the socialist system rests but deviations from these principles and the responsibility of the leadership for the development of the state along this road over a long period of time.

[Question] Do you think that the Polish people understand our attitude toward your problems correctly?

[Answer] The history of Poland's present crisis should be a great lesson to the international worker and communist movements as a whole as well as the other members of the socialist comity. I am convinced that all of us should draw proper conclusions from this lesson we received. The art of managing is a difficult and responsible one.

5003
CSO: 2200/40

TARNOW, WLOCLAWEK PROVINCES PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

Basic Goals of Social-Economic Life

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 9 Dec 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by Jerzy Rzeszuto]

[Text] (Own Information) The Tenth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee [CC] defined the party's position on crucial problems of the country's socioeconomic development and on the need to introduce changes into economic policy to bring us out of the crisis rapidly. The PZPR CC outlined the following basic social goals: to feed the nation, to provide the people with basic food items and to restore market stability, to halt the declining housing situation and to improve health care. The CC likewise defined major economic tasks. Yesterday's [8 December 1982] PZPR KW [Voivodship Committee] Plenum in Tarnow, which was chaired by Politburo member, First Secretary of the PZPR KW in Tarnow Stanislaw Opalko, was dedicated to these subjects.

PZPR KW Secretary Jerzy Sobecki presented the KW Executive Board report. He outlined the current socioeconomic situation in the Tarnow voivodship.

The economic situation shows some signs of improvement. Whereas sold production for the first quarter of 1982 was 13.5 percent (about 4 billion zlotys) lower than for the same period in 1981, in subsequent months the production decline lessened gradually. For the first time in 1982 a production increase took place in September (0.4 percent up from September 1981) and October (up 5.4 percent from October 1981). Improvement has been noted in the implementation of export tasks. For the third quarter of 1982, goods and services were exported having a value in excess of 6 billion zlotys (market price). However, our export is still below that of other years.

Employment is declining systematically. However, this is not the result of the failure to rationalize employment, but of the natural departure of workers, primarily due to early retirement.

This has resulted in a serious shortage of cadres, which will shrink to 11,000 employees from 1983 to 1985. In such a situation, the rational management of cadres assumes special importance.

The final months of 1982 are indicative of a worsening of the relationship between the average wage increase and labor productivity. To a significant degree, this is the result of the fact that newly implemented incentives system have not yet had their effect. The increase in administrative employees and management positions in the larger plants of the Tarnow voivodship is an unfavorable trend. There are even more disturbing cases where production has declined and employment has not been reduced proportionately, but there have been very large increases in the average wage. This is especially true of the Okocimski Breweries in Brzesk where production has dropped 8.9 percent, employment has increased 8.4 percent and there has been a record average wage increase of 40.3 percent. Similar tendencies have occurred at the Debicki Paint and Varnish Factory, although with lower employment.

In summary, the economic situation in particular enterprises is very different. For the period being analyzed, 20 enterprises, primarily small-scale industrial enterprises, showed a production increase of several percentage points over last year. Unfortunately, none of these are the largest voivodship plants. Of these major enterprises, only ZPH HiL [expansion unknown] in Bochnia, the Nitrogen Plant in Tarnow and the PONAR Machinery Plants approached last year's production levels.

A vital issue given much attention during the plenum was production costs. The need was pointed out for doing running analyses and costs verifications as an indispensable condition for the improvement of management efficiency. The high profitablity of plants emanating from the use of contract prices rather than from the reduction of costs is a socially undesirable phenomenon.

It is of interest that wage solutions put into economic practice on the basis of the assumptions of Council of Ministers' Resolution No 135 in many Tarnow plants, including Tamel Electric Motors Factory, Izolacja Insulation Materials Enterprise and ZPH HiL have not yielded material results. The proper use must be made of production capabilities.

A problem with consequences for the entire economic situation is the proper use of work time and worker turnover. Despite increased discipline due to the imposition of martial law, these phenomena are still evident in disturbing proportions. Overtime is on the rise. What makes the situation even more complex is the continuing phenomenon of employee turnover, which currently involves approximately 20 percent of the labor force. Last year nearly 20,000 persons changed jobs in only 3 basic sectors of the voivodship economy.

Still worse, the production decline is attended, by an unprecedented sharp increase in worker income. Over an 11-month period in 1982 in the Tarnow voivodship, personal income exceeded expenses by nearly 2.3 billion zlotys.

J Sobecki likewise made a thorough analysis of the market situation and the state of the food economy and also discussed the problems of agriculture, housing construction and health protection.

Tarnow Voivodship Governor Stanislaw Nowak referred to these subjects and outlined major directions of activities in these fields of our existence for 1983 through 1985, taking into consideration the realities of the present socioeconomic situation.

These 2 addresses led to a discussion in which 16 people took part. A number of significant recommendations were made, which were included in a PZPR KW Plenum resolution concerning the resolution of the basic socioeconomic problems of Tarnow Voivodship. The KW Plenum recognized that it is necessary for us to intensify our efforts in the coming years in the following fields: agriculture and the food economy, market supply and restoring market stability, housing construction and health care. A program of activities for party echelons and organizations ensuring the implementation of the PZPR CC Tenth Plenum resolution in Tarnow Voivodship was also approved. It was established that administrative authorities and institutions should undertake the indispensable actions for halting the declining tendencies in farm production based on developing local fodder reserves. Plans are being made to act to increase the effectiveness of cooperation between the agricultural-food industry and agriculture in Tarnow Voivodship.

It was recommended that all possible measures be taken to develop market production by identifying assortments heretofore available and by going into production of new items, as well as by creating conditions for the development of services in all economic sectors. In order to increase market production volume, it was deemed necessary to bring back a second and third shift and to work on free Saturdays in those plants where this is possible. It was also proposed that action be taken to standardize conditions for the acquisition of construction sites and lots for all forms of housing construction and to increase the production of building materials using local raw materials and production waste.

The plenum enjoined administrative authorities to consistently implement health service facilities included in the plan, in particular the voivodship hospital and clinic.

The KW recognized the consistent implementation of economic reform to be one of the fundamental conditions for the implementation of the goals of socioeconomic policy. The economic reform and the reactivation of workforce self-governments and trade unions ought to be a major task of party organization activity in enterprises and institutions. At the same time, institutions and party organizations were ordered to prepare their own operating schedules for the implementation of tasks emanating from the PZPR CC Tenth Plenum resolution.

Participants in the plenum included Deputy Director of the PZPR CC Administrative Department Jerzy Klica, ZSL [U ited Peasant Party] WK [Voivodship Committee] Chairman Stanislaw Partyla, SD [Democratic Party] WK [Voivodship Committee] Chairman Zgymunt Pacyna, WRN [Voivodship People's Council] Chairman Jan Zieba and Tarnow Voivodship KOK [National Defense Committee] plenipotentiary Col Adam Szegidewicz.

Plenum on Tasks'Hierarchy

Krakow DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 17 Jan 83 p 1

[Article by (kis)]

> [Text] (Own Information) On Saturday, 15 January 1983, a plenary meeting of the PZPR KW in Tarnow took place. Deliberations were chaired by Politburo member, PZPR KW First Secretary Stanislaw Opalko.

In the course of the meeting, materials were approved for the voivodship reports conference--a report on the implementation of the voivodship reports-elections conference, resolution and on the activities of the PZPR KW from July 1981 through 31 December 1982.

This report discussed the scope of activities undertaken to consolidate party ranks, the creation of conditions for increasing the social and political activism of the younger generation and the solution of the most pressing economic and social problems. Discussion during the course of the conference will answer the question: Has the hierarchy of the organization's goals and tasks been established properly; has everything possible been done to accomplish these tasks? The conference is to mark out the road of the further building of political, ideological and organizational unity.

Much attention was given to the contents of the reports-program report for the conference. Those assembled approved the contents of the report submitted in the name of the KW Executive Board by KW voivodship committee Secretary Jerzy Sobecki.

Participants likewise approved proposals concerning regulations on the deliberations and the conference proceedings. They recognized that five issues teams should be created. Each of these would deliberate separately, discussing one of the following problems: industry, agriculture, education and culture, health services and housing construction and investments. A representative of the given ministry would listen to the discussion and would clarify details and answer questions regarding possible solutions to problems. The ultimate decision regarding this issue belongs to the conference delegates who are to deliberate on 30 January 1983.

Regional meetings of delegates will take place in several days in major voivodship cities. During these meetings, the agenda of the PZPR voivodship conference will be discussed in detail. The first of these meetings will be held in Tuchow on 21 January 1983.

Higher Production, Social Needs

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 17-18-19 Dec 82 p 1, 2

[Article by (MAT)]

> [Text] The tasks of the voivodship party organization in light of PZPR CC Tenth Plenum resolutions, with special consideration given to trade meeting society's needs--this was the subject of yesterday's meeting of the party KW in Wloclawek. Minister of domestic trade and services Zygmunt Lakomiec took part in the deliberations, which were chaired by KW First Secretary Krystian Luczak.

The discussion was prefaced by a report presented by PZPR KW Secretary Wojciech Stefanski. He described the phenomena and tendencies that are characteristic of the current socioeconomic situation. In November 1982, voivodship industry finally showed signs of the normalization of production. Food subbranch industries, for example, the Kujawy Food Concentrates Plant and the Kujawy Fruit-Vegetables Plant, are achieving favorable results. The rate of annual production tasks is likewise at the DRUMET Cable and Wire Factory. The situation shapes up most favorably, however, at the small-scale production plants, where the selling rate is increasing systematically and labor productivity is growing while the employment rate has dropped.

Declining production trends in nitrogen plants and paint plants are particularly disturbing. This is caused by frequent system breakdowns and investment difficulties, as well as shortages and the uneven flow of raw materials. The disproportionately high increase in wages by comparison with production [illegible] is disturbing. Wages increased by 29 percent this year. We are still lacking a consistent, planned-out employment policy. In November there were 3,000 local openings of which 90 percent were due to employee turnover. Other unfavorable trends in the voivodship economy include unfulfilled tasks in housing construction, where we will implement only 81 percent of this year's plans.

In discussing the socioeconomic realities of the voivodship, KW Secretary Wojciech Stefanski stressed the need to undertake initiatives and local solutions leading to the restoration of economic stability. He noted the complex conditions for implementing reform, which needs socialized management to succeed. The proper atmosphere for reactiving and creating workers' self-governments has been created in the voivodship. Unfortunately, this is still not interpreted correctly everywhere. Frequently, controversial or erroneous decisions are made without consulting the workforce and getting their opinions, for example, the provisions of the management of some plants concerning joining unions. Comrade W Stefanski noted here that the goal of party and government policy is to create an atmosphere of good work through the help of a properly understood self-government.

He stated in his report that economic results have a direct impact upon the degree to which trade satisfies society's needs. The operation of trade, negative phenomena that have occurred therein and its shortcomings are discussed at party meetings, factory or other group meetings and in letters and direct intervention in party echelons. The supplying of the voivodship with rationed food has stabilized, he said in the report. A surplus of fruit and vegetable reserves has been created, and a slight increase in supply with a better assortment structure has been in evidence recently on the meat market. Consumer supplies of manufactured goods are very poor. For many groups of centrally distributed goods, the quota assigned to the Wloclawek voivodship is lower than warranted by the number of inhabitants. The shortage of footwear is particularly acute. By 20 November, 40 percent of the coupons had been turned in. The KW secretary, speaking of market shortages, also noted the need for permanent control of the market actions of producers and merchants exerted by party organizations in these plants. This should not be administrative or economic supervision, but a check of how party members are implementing the party's program line, according to which they are to be concerned daily over the principles of justice in the name of the well-concerned interests of society. Comrade W Stefanski likewise stressed the need for the more effective elimination of speculation, for the improvement of the work organization of trade and for improving the currently operative agential system.

Twenty comrades took part in the discussion. A basic theme of the plenary debate was the assertion that market supply can be improved only by increasing production. Good results in this area and examples of concrete work were presented by Zygmunt Wolanski, first secretary of the PZPR KMG [City-Gmina Committee] in Radziejow, who cited the initiative of the local MEPROZET Plant, which went into production of drying ovens for agriculture; by Roman Waczynski, director of the Kujawy Food Concentrates Plants, who noted that by the end of 1982, the Concentrates Plant will overfulfill the plan by 3,200 tons of products; and by Zdzislaw Olszewski from the Wloclawek Furniture Factory, whose products, including the "Kujawy" ensemble were produced in amounts several times greater than last year. Zdzislaw Kozinski from the DRUMET Cable and Wire Factory spoke of the need to undertake anti-import production, at the same time calling for the central authorities to revise several regulations that inhibit enterprise efficiency.

Signs of the local failure to utilize production potential were also evident during the plenary debate. This applies in particular to labor cooperatives and small-scale production which, as was stressed by Tadeusz Joachimiak, chairman of the NOT [Chief Technical Organization] OW [Voivodship Center] and Piotr Kwiecinski, WZSP [Voivodship Union of Labor Cooperatives] chairman, are already playing a significant role in meeting society's needs. Relatively minor outlays are needed to make them producers for filling out market shortages.

Contrary to expectations, little attention was paid in addresses to the potential and prospects for the organizational streamlining of trade. Its problems, troubles and virtues were spoken of by representatives from trade organizations--WPHW [Voivodship Domestic Trade House], WZSR [Voivodship Union of Handicraft Cooperatives?], WSS [Voivodship Consumers' Cooperative] SPOLEM and the Voivodship Office subbranch department, but their statements contradicted that of Comrade Tezycki from the Skepe Gmina, in which there has not been built a store for 30 years, and that of the farmer from Badkowo Gmina Miroslaw Danielak, who vividly described the problems of rural inhabitants in purchasing articles for farm production.

Minister of domestic trade and services Zygmunt Lakomiec took the floor in the discussion. He described the general domestic supply situation and the related supply of manufactured goods and food items on the Wloclawek market. In the miniter's opinion, Wloclawek allotments do not differ from deliveries for other such regions of Poland. (An interview of a GAZETA POMOSRKA reporter with Minister Lakomiec will be published in a coming issue of the GAZETA).

The PZPR KW Plenum passed a resolution concerning a political-organizational guarantee of the implementation of Tenth CC Plenum resolutions by the voivodship party organization, and also concerning the tasks of party echelons and organizations and the management of trade organizations in order to improve the operation of trade in Wloclawek.

During the KW meeting, medals commemorating the 100th anniversary of the Polish workers' movement issued by the PZPR CC were presented to: Stanislaw Czarkowski, Antoni Gabryszewski, Stanislaw Ginko, Stanislaw Lejman, Leon Maciejewski, Tadeusz Maciejewski, Jozef Sasak, Stefan Teper, all from Wloclawek, and Wladyslaw Duminski and Franciszek Jarecki from Rypin, Marcin Maciejewski from Smilowice, Kazimierz Mozdzen from Badkowo, Franciszek Pietrykowski from Rozno-Parcela and Jozef Pietrykowski and Stanislaw Wodkowski from Aleksandrowo Kujawskie.

Reports Debate, Workers' Self-Government

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 24-25-26 Dec 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by MAT]

> [Text] A central topic of PZPR KW Executive Board deliberations in Wloclawek was to become familiar with the progress of the reports-programs conference in party echelons at the basic level. They concluded with a reports debate of the city party organization in Wloclawek.

The KW Executive Board stressed many fundamental positive elements characteristic of the reports campaign. Increased consolidation, discipline and activism are especially noteworthy. The reports conferences in the gminas of Skepe, Koneck, Topolka and Tluchowo took place in an atmosphere of constructive discussion. Executive Board members likewise noted the shortcomings that had occurred. It was stressed that there were too few program elements in the reports campaign. More careful attention must be given to these matters, in order to take into account recent Voivodship and Central Committee resolutions to outline the directions of the work of basic party elements. The Executive Board likewise approved the time schedule for the KW reports conference, set for the first half of February 1983.

Further on in deliberations, the KW Executive Board assessed the work of the reactivated workers' self-governments in the DRUMET Cable and Wire Factory and in the Rypin PBRol [Agricultural Construction Enterprise?]. It was concluded that the decision to resume activity in these social organs of comanagement was not premature. However, the self-government must become a force applying pressure to break down rapidly conservative and passive attitudes in the management sphere. The work of some self-governments is still too passive. For these self-governments we must create conditions of unimpeded activity in the well-founded interest of society. While they exist in many plants, self-governments are still finding it very difficult to overcome many regulations and orders determining the proper management of a plant. Much attention must likewise be given to questions of training, since in many plants the level of economic knowledge is still low.

The KW Executive Board likewise assessed the activity of plant mass media under martial law.

8536
CSO: 2600/339

EXPERT DISCUSSES WESTERN REACTION TO WARSAW PACT DECLARATION

Warsaw KURIER POLSKI in Polish 21-23 Jan 83 p 4

[Interview with Dr Adam Daniel Rotfeld, director of the Department of European Security of the Polish Institute of International Affairs, by Andrzej Gestern; time and place not specified]

> [Text] [Question] Over 2 weeks ago the Warsaw Pact nations announced a declaration in which they proposed to the NATO countries the conclusion of a nonaggression treaty. In official terms, this initiative is known by the quite long title: "A Pact on the Mutual Nonuse of Military Force and the Maintanence of Peaceful Relationships." How was the proposal of the socialist countries received by the West? Do you believe there is a chance that such a pact will be concluded?

[Answer] As usually happens in such cases, the reactions varied. Many politicians responded favorably to the Warsaw Pact proposal. The official representatives of the Western European countries as well as the United States are quite restrained in their reactions, stating numerous objections and reservations, but at the same time showing much interest. In any case, there is none of that forthwith and categorical rejection observed many times in the past, especially not too long ago. This is happening for two reasons: first, often the reaction to even the same proposal varies in accordance with the circumstances and time; second, rather than a repeat of the old proposal to conclude a nonaggression pact, this one includes many elements that are new to the basic idea, taking into consideration that situation that has developed between the East and West in the past years.

[Question] Immediately after the Warsaw Pact proposal was announced opinions were voiced in the western capitals that the proposal is not acceptable.

[Answer] Yes, but those reactions were rather hasty and did not win wider support. Even those politicians that have reservations about the Warsaw Pact initiative speak of the need to study it seriously.

[Question] What counterarguments are offered in the West against concluding a pact barring the use of force between the two political-military groupings?

[Answer] Those who are against such an agreement say that it in general is not needed. Of course, other international documents and agreements exist that rule out the use of military force. The UN Charter is actually such a document, which in Art 2, Point 3 obligates nations to settle disputes by peaceful means, and in Point 4 of this article the use of force to realize political aims is forbidden. The Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation signed in Helsinki in 1975 also mandates refraining from the use of force or the threat of force.

It also is argued that the documents creating NATO and the Warsaw Pact state that they are organizations for defense and thus nonaggressive. Therefore there is no need whatever to state this in other documents. Finally, it is said that a nonaggression pact between NATO and the Warsaw Pact would be solely of a verbal-declarative nature and would dilute the significance of other, earlier international agreements. It would debase them as insufficiently obligatory vis-a-vis nonuse of force. If one would accept the above method of reasoning than it could be said that there is no need to conclude many other international agreements in as much as they contribute nothing new, provide nothing and guarantee nothing. But the principle of relinquishing the use of force in relations between nations has been functioning in international law since 1928, that is since the signing of the Briand-Kellog pact. Thought of initially as bilateral, between France and the U.S., it became a multilateral pact. Sixty-three nations participated in the pact, or most of the then existing sovereign nations, including all the major nations along with the USSR. I mention this because the Briand-Kellog pact (named after its initiators--the then French minister of foreign affairs and American secretary of state) was recognized as a milestone in the development of international law. On the strength of this pact, war became illegal as a tool of national policy for the first time.

Despite this, many pacts, agreements and documents have come into being reiterating and expanding the thesis of this 1928 pact, for example, those I have already mentioned: the UN Charter and the Final Act of Helsinki. What is more, accepting the agruments of the opponents of a nonaggression pact between NATO and the Warsaw Pact could bring into question the purpose of many other agreements, treaties and conventions. For example, the UN Charter contains basic provisions regarding human rights; despite this, the international community thought it was desirable to compile a collection of rules and principles regulating this material. They are included in treaties called the international human rights pacts that were signed in 1966. The UN Charter speaks of the need to disarm which, of course, not only excludes arming but, on the contrary, obliges governments to seek ways leading to this goal in the form of specific pacts and agreements.

[Question] Yes, but concrete disarmament resolutions are one thing and a nonaggression pact is something else.

[Answer] Yes and no. The world finds itself in a situation where an encroachment on the road to halting the arms race or at least to create the means for controlling the state of things in this area has become urgent and an increasingly universally acknowledged necessity.

[Question] Acknowledged by whom?

[Answer] By governments as well as increasingly wider spheres of society. The lack of trust between the East and West lies at the base of the arms race. Security depends on a balance of forces. That balance is of a dynamic nature which means that every armament step taken by one side is matched with a retort by the other side. This process gets out of control very quickly. In addition, this dynamism requires such enormous outlays and economic sacrifices that it becomes an almost automatic source of tension and destabilization. Thus it is necessary to maintain the balance of forces at the lowest possible level and smaller cost.

[Question] Is there a way to break this viscious circle?

[Answer] One has to start somewhere, take some kind of steps. A good start could be really a pact on the nonuse of military force between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. The West avers that new missiles in Western Europe are necessary because of a threat from the East. To begin, the East proposes an understanding regarding intention if specific disarmament agreements are not immediately possible.

[Question] Is an understanding vis-a-vis intention supposed to be in place of disarmament steps?

[Answer] That is the minimum. The Warsaw Pact draft formulates a general goal: as long as both opposing groupings have no aggressive designs against one another then they should conclude a pact on this issue based on international law. But that is not all. At the same time the proposal of the socialist countries concretizes the basic decisions for a future pact. One of these decisions is--and I quote from the Prague declaration--"to conduct negotiations regarding effective steps to stop the arms race, to limit and reduce arms and to disarm." Thus the pact will not supersede specific disarmament agreements; on the contrary, it should make it easier to make progress in this area by creating an atmosphere of trust.

[Question] What can be said about other concrete steps resulting from the Warsaw Pact proposal?

[Answer] A year ago the Soviet Union solemnly promised at the UN that it would not be the first to use nuclear weapons. A similar declaration is awaited from the U.S., but they say they cannot do it because the East is superior to the West in conventional forces and that repudiating the use of nuclear weapons would threaten NATO's security. The latest proposal of the socialist countries provides for, as a first, the repudiation of not only nuclear weapons but conventional ones as well. Thus this is a departure opposite to the West's position.

In the Warsaw Pact proposal there also is mention of other concrete moves, for example, guaranteeing the safety of shipping, land transportation and space expeditions. The guarantee would encompass not only the territories of the pact nations but also their military personnel and equipment belonging to them regardless of their location, including areas outside anyone's national jurisdiction--the open seas, air space and outer space. The nonuse of force against third-party nations, that is nonmembers of either pact as well as neutral and noninvolved countries, is also anticipated. The pact will be open and all nations can accede to it.

[Question] At the beginning I asked if there is a chance of negotiating and concluding such a pact. With your permission, I will conclude our discussion by asking the same question.

[Answer] I mentioned at the start the varied reactions to the Warsaw Pact proposal. This indicates that it is still too early to prejudge the success or nonsuccess of this initiative. However, it is almost certain that this subject will be on the agenda of every important political meeting and diplomatic conference. In addition, one can also expect additional, concrete proposals from the socialist countries. It has been announced that this issue will be taken up by the Committee of Foreign Ministers of the Warsaw Pact nations. A proposal in outline as well as a detailed draft of the pact could result from this meeting. This document could become the subject of concrete negotiations.

11899
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COMMENTATOR WARNS OF NEED TO TOLERATE CRITICISM

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 4, 22 Jan 83 p 16

[Text] Diagnoses and Predictions

Jerzy Urban is a progrovernment journalist. It would be hard for him not to be one since he himself is a member of the government. At the same time Jerzy Urban is the type of government member whom people love to attack freely and unabashedly. He is under siege from both the progovernment and the seemingly progovernment journalists. This state of affairs arises from the fact that everybody expects more tolerance and understanding from Jerzy Urban, for he was and still is a journalist, despite the burden of his ministerial portfolio. The expectations made from his forbearance are higher than those from his government colleagues, despite the resilience he displays as a former journalist. Therefore, an attack on Mr Urban, contrary to all the appearances, is far safer than an attack on the administration's vice-minister and the protector of environment and employment, wages and some such things. These functionaries could respond with the full venom of the injured officials, while Urban receives the blows in a manner worthy of a calm journalist who has often been pushed around.

These are the reasons that make me cringe when I intend to attack Jerzy Urban. Unfortunately, it had happened that it was Urban who, more clearly and transparently than anybody else, has expressed a view in his column that I cannot agree to. It does not happen to be a spur of the moment view; it is an attempt to diagnose what has happened and to predict what will happen in Poland in the near future; thus, it concerns basic matters.

Urban in his column, ironically refering to the currently still popular slogan "yours is the winter,but the summer is ours", presents a step-by-step analysis of the actual collapse and increasing alienation of the so-called "organized opposition"; that is, the oppositon organized to print leaflets, to prepare strikes and to throw stones in the streets. In that respect, let's say it right away, I am in total agreement with Mr Urban. I have always been of the opinion that the so-called "organized opposition" leads nowhere. Recently my views have been strengthened by the tapes of conversations with the underground opponents which have been aired on the radio. These conversations indicate that the authorities have the opponents pinned down. What is worse, however, these tapes indicate that the opponents continue to display their former lack of political realism and the lack of atunement to the moods of ordinary people. It is the same lack which led to the events of 13 December 1981. Anyhow, some other observations I have made also confirm my conclusion.

Having correctly predicted the wilting of organized opposition, as I have written, Urban continues to write, however, that the main events of 1983 (and, he hastens to observe, also of subsequent years, although "to a lesser degree") will be the formation of the different "opposition groups". These groups will be characterised by degrees of "irreconcilability". The typology of his gradation is so broad that, at the outset, it encompasses "the closed coteries", whose members "will grow embittered and will become forgotten", and who will for instance occasionally concoct some protest letters in order to get away from their forgotten status. At its other extreme, Urban's typology includes individuals who will manage to break away from "the groups of the irreconcilable", and will enter "a range of groups whose members will half-cooperate with the authorities and participate in the official circulation". The author observes that such gradation would be characteristic primarily of intellectual and artistic circles, but it would not be exclusively limited to these circles of people. According to Urban, others also will dream up a type of "third way" which will take them "neither with the government nor with the opposition". These will be the people who are "the two-faced hypocritical" participants in the legal political life of the country. In another statement [Urban] warns that "they will be the target of an open political struggle".

It is an obvious thing that as far as any government goes, its members would rather meet no opposition at all, especially at the initial moment of that government's existence, furthermore, these government members would prefer to hear a triple "Hurrah!" from the public, applauding their successive ideas and smoothly absorbing all their decisions into the fabric of society. Unfortunately, however, postwar Polish history has proven that such agreeable beginnings of evil always end in misery.

A healthy and normal society can not and should not tolerate a situation in which conspiring groups lead their daily subterranean activities calling for a boycott of even the simplist, most rational activities of the government; using armed terrorism or moral blackmail as their means of incitement. Such a situation is unacceptable, particularly since the only thing these groups have to offer is to ignite a fire right in the middle of a floor, to ignite a fire which would spread to, at least, one house, even if it does nothing else.

We have, at the same time, been convinced sufficiently often that wisdom and far-sightedness is rarely the sole property of one group of people, and, moreover, that these people are rarely at the helm of the country. When we speak of an agreement, however, such an agreement must not be based on the principle of a mutual admiration society: "You perform and we applaud you". It must be based on a genuine consideration of alternative proposals coming from outside of the ruling circles as well. It must be based perhaps also on the acceptance of "the third road", or simply, on the acceptance of public's right to correct or to alter solutions which the government proposes for society.

Urban ridicules the "concocted letters of political protest." Yet, he is obviously forgetting that, had some of these letters been heeded rather than simply tossed into the wastepaper-basket (often tossed in with their authors), they might have saved us from many an unfortunate move. Meanwhile, the neglect of such letters lead us to an irreversibly erroneous decision or put us on a deviant path of no return. We also had the "opposition groups" which have resisted for a long time surfacing into the open, and becoming a determined and true opposition; yet, when they have been pushed to it, in spite of everything, they caused a large, mass-scale inflammation of society. I am not refering here to the professional opponents of long standing. They, naturally, need no push to oppose, they drag others into the opposition.

As has often been done by others, Urban himself has repeated the warning that we must not forget the causes which led to August 1980. My belief is that the main cause of the August 1980 events was a conviction that only one set of people could decide the fate of the nation, while anyone else must necessarily be expressing only one or another type of "opposition". Then, as now, we were finding comfort in the [false] belief that such opposition is only marginal and "second class" in strength. Then, as now, we were trying to engage it into an "open political struggle" rather than into the open discussion of points of difference. The results of such behavior have become known to us now.

Let us say that we would like to say: those who are in authority must reconcile themselves to the fact that their proposals, plans and deeds will never again be received without scrutiny and criticism. They must do so in order to avert a new national disaster. Such disaster, by the way, would cancel also our hopes for the fiasco of the organized opposition, adding a powerful boost to its strength. Those in power will and must face society's debates and the resistance that results from them. That resistance does not necessarily have to be inimical or "oppositionist". Such resistance would only signify that society wants to decide its fate in earnest, not in words only, and that [social involvement] should be our ultimate goal. The society is right to accept nobody's exclusive claim to possess wisdom. A historian says: "Napoleon, having understood he was infallible, doubled his police force." That also constituted the beginning of Napoleon's end.

There is another reason why I consider Urban's diagnosis, or even more, his prediction, to be in error. Overwhelmed by the particular "love-hate" feeling toward his formerly idolized and well-known opponent, who has now turned enemy, Urban does not perceive at all another danger which is to accompany us during the coming year and in my opinion, also during a few years in the future. He does not perceive that such danger will become an obsessive aim of people whom he does not classify among any type of "oppositionists", and who mostly introduce themselves as the system's ultra-followers. This obsessive aim is to forget all that has happened, even among other things, to forget the 1980 workers' protest and not to internalize what will yet have to happen: that is, among other things, the economic reform with all its economic and social or environmental consequences.

I must confess, should I be more than a progovernment journalist, should I be also a government member, I would fear the above far more than I would fear the sum of all the "oppositionists" Urban has outlined. I would fear especially these far more than I would fear those which are not "oppositions" in reality.

9934
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AMERICANS BLAMED FOR CUTBACKS IN SCIENTIFIC RELATIONS

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Jan 83 p 6

[Article by Wlodzimierz Zralek: "On the Background of American Sanctions. Science and Politics"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

> [Text] /Scientific cooperation with Poland has become one of the areas embraced by American sanctions. After a series of drastic limitations introduced by the U.S. government--limitations which created a new situation in that area--an official government statement of the Polish People's Republic was released in the middle of December of last year confirming, that it intends to carry out a verification of the scope and course of cooperation with the U.S. on the scientific level as well as on the cultural level./

At the same time the statement declared a consideration of the hitherto existing visa policy towards the United States which, as American diplomatic-consular representation in Warsaw undoubtedly doesn't deny, is much more liberal than the practices used towards Polish citizens trying to travel to the United States.

In answer to this, a large-scale propaganda campaign was undertaken in the United States. The main role in this fell upon /"The Voice of America"/, which is striving to suggest that this cooperation came under question by Poland and not as a result of the U.S. restrictions imposed earlier. Simultaneously the obvious fact, that the United States represents an unequaled higher level in science and technology than our country, was taken advantage of to launch the argument, that cooperation up to this time lay exclusively in the interest of Poland. All the more so, the above-mentioned statement was presented as an expression of a shift of emergency political purposes by the Polish authorities over interests of science, which can be cut off from especially useful advantages, because of their being one-sided.

In the past weeks we did not undertake polemics with that campaign because we were awaiting introductory results of works having more accurately to define the assumptions of the statement. The author of this article had possibilities to converse with many people and to examine a wide range of documentation--and thus, a few personal comments follow.

The first one is connected with the fact that this work is conducted with the participation of experts representing the academic departments and institutions most interested in this matter, among them being the Polish Academy of Science [PAN]. /They are the last to play down the significance of academic cooperation with the U.S. For instance, in the estimation of the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology, the United States was our leading partner among western countries in that field./

Admittedly, in respect to the amount of formal agreements between main departments, scientific institutions and institutions of higher learning, the U.S. is in second place after France. On the other hand, the proportions of individual exchange placed the U.S. in fifth place. However, because of the conditions under which research is conducted, the level of work conducted or the laboratory equipment available, cooperative work with the United States was given a specific standing. /Also, the opinion of PAN underlines, that in some areas American science is ahead of other western countries by several, if not by anywhere from 10 to 20 years./

No one also questions the fact, that cooperative work, which developed in many forms such as common research work, seminars and tests, training periods and graduate studies, brought Poland concrete advantages. Not going into the results of basic research for lack of space, it is worth mentioning that for Polish industry the results of this work were expressed for instance in a program limiting the unfavorable influence of large electrical power plants on the environment, for agriculture in research concerned with taking advantage of physical characteristics of soils for increasing crop yields, and for medicine in the use of kidney transplants in Polish medicine.

The rational perception of these advantages, however does not mean that they had a one-sided character. In the estimation of PAN unquestioned is, for instance, the input of Polish scientists in mastery of the technology of the artificial heart chamber. Another example is the acceleration of the program of demethanization of mines in the American mining industry thanks to cooperation with Polish scientists.

For those, who do not perceive without reason, that limitation of cooperation brings greater damage to the Polish side, it is fitting to answer, that the decision was not ours. /The United States executed the decision announcing further measures, among which are the refusal for extension of the intergovernment agreement for scientific-technological cooperation, as well as the signing of new, already previously okayed agreements. This was accompanied by a refusal of initiation of agreements concluded between academic institutions of both countries, such as for instance, the agreement from 1981 between PAN and the American National Science Foundation./

At the same time basic mechanism of cooperation were blocked, from which the most important is the so-called Maria Sklodowska-Curie Fund created in 1974 from a common input of both sides. From that fund scientists' trips and research work were financed, which embraced about 250 projects--above all from the field of agriculture and the food industry, medicine, basic research, the coal mining industry and atomic science, as well as environmental protection.

In the course of cooperative work up to this time over 80 research projects have been completed, while the fate of other already begun research projects has become questionable.

In the light of the above-mentioned facts, the reality over which we had no control, dictated the need for this review which was undertaken by Polish authorities. In this evaluation one can see an analogy to the position taken by the Polish authorities toward U.S. economic sanctions. Has anyone among us concealed the fact that they are painfully felt by Poland? The same is true in the area of academic cooperation as well, which of course doesn't mean that Polish authorities could be influenced to maintain them at the cost of even the smallest political concession.

/In this present verification political and academic aspects of cooperation are clearly differentiated./ As a result, the /United States Information Agency (USIA)/ has become an institution with which Poland has resolved to completely break off contacts.

That institution however became transformed during the presidency of Ronald Reagan into an effective instrument of a propaganda war against socialistic countries. The well-known program /"Let Poland Be Poland"/ was actually worked out under the patronage of the USIA. It suited the general principles of that agency, which were explicitly formulated in a memorandum worked out in 1981. Here is a typical sentence from it: /"Our purpose must be the destabilization of the Soviet Union and its satellite countries."/

As far as actual scientific cooperation, Poland did not break off any agreement. On the other hand, the fact that part of research work already begun was blocked as a result of U.S restrictions, creates a necessity for considering which of these projects should be continued for reasons of their significance, costs already incurred, as well as the degree to which work has already advanced on them. As representatives of academic departments and institutions confirm, partners should be looked for here in socialistic countries as well as among those western countries, which can assure the highest level of cooperation in a given area.

These considerations undertaken in Poland simultaneously take into consideration the fact, that in spite of restrictions announced by President Ronald Reagan, many U.S. institutions and academic establishments are continuing cooperative work with their Polish partners. /That probably confirms the fact, that not only our side is interested in cooperation./

The aim of Poland is not to arbitrarily berak off contacts, but to develop them. This concerns, among others, cooperation between educational institutions. At present, 16 Polish institutions of higher learning have 40 agreements with U.S. educational institutions. /Characteristic of this is the fact, that in October of last year--and therefore still during the period of martial law--a delegation arrived in Poland from the American Association of State Colleges and Universities (AASCU)--an organization made up of 300 American educational institutions. Introductory agreements of cooperation were concerned with, among others, exchange of lecturers and interns./

There still remains a field of "nonagreed" but extremely important cooperation. For instance, institutions of PAN attach much importance to exchanges of academic publications and periodicals, academic information, experience, etc. The scope of this exchange is usually decided by individual contacts of academic workers, and especially by participation in international conferences and symposiums.

In this situation, when the whole of academic cooperation was subject to a considerable limitation as a result of the position of the American side, the appropriate selection of priorities in basic research as well as in the remaining fields has taken on a special meaning for us. They are defined above all by their practical usefulness for the country. This especially concerns, among others, such fields as: /fuel economy, energy and resources, agriculture and food, health and environmental protection, apartment building./

The need for assurance of the appropriate policy for trips out of the country comprises a separate problem. It is not possible to agree, for instance, with practices attesting to the fact, that, /especially in the field of social sciences, the U.S. position on the matter of individual exchange participants is not always defined only by merital but also by political consideration./

These have been only some of the directions of work towards substantiation of the official statement from a month ago.

12281
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AVIATION TRAINING SCHOOLS, PROGRAMS DISCUSSED

Secondary-Level Aviation School

Warsaw SKRZYDLATA POLSKA in Polish No 23, 24 Oct 82 p 3

[Interview with Lt Col (pilot, doctor) Stefan Bulanda, head of the Aviation Secondary School in Zielona Gora, by Tadeusz Malinowski: "Admission Pass From Aviation Secondary School"]

> [Text] We visited Aviation Secondary School in Zielona Gora in the first half of September 1982. We talked with Lt Col (pilot, doctor) Stefan Bulanda, the head of the school, in order to fulfill the wishes of our readers from elementary schools. Our interlocutor comes from Nowy Sacz Region, was trained by two instructors: Jerzy Iszkowski and Ludomir Swieczka, in the Podhale Aeroclub in Nowy Sacz. His first independent flight took place on 15 August 1957. Then he was admitted to Officer Aviation School in Deblin, where he graduated in 1961. Having taken a course for instructors, he was training jet aircraft pilots in Deblin for almost 17 years. During that time he got his masters and doctorate degrees. December 1975 to 1979 he was deputy director of Aviation Secondary School in Deblin and at the same time he was the head of Aeroclub "Eaglets," Orleta. Since 1979 he has been the head of Zielona Gora Branch of the Aviation Secondary School in Deblin and after 1 January 1982--when Zielona Gora got its independence--he was its director. He has 1st-class military pilot's license and 1st-class instructor's license in civil aviation.

[Question] What was the goal they had in mind while creating aviation secondary schools?

[Answer] Aviation Secondary Schools--first in Deblin and then in Zielona Gora--were founded on the basis of the need to supply properly prepared candidates for further studies (specialization: jet aircraft pilot) for Higher Officers' Aviation School [WOSL] in Deblin. The development of technology went so far that it was necessary to prepare people for this difficult profession in the air not only during the 4 year study period in Deblin

School but also before the candidate was admitted to WOSL. The founding of these schools was born out of necessity. Brig Gen (pilot, doctor) Jozef Kowalski, the commander of WOSL, was the initiator of the idea. Aviation Secondary School in Deblin opened its door 10 years ago, in September 1982. Our school in Zielona Gora was open as a branch of Deblin and 1 January 1982 it became independent.

[Question] Who can apply to be admitted to Aviation Secondary School in Zielona Gora?

[Answer] Able and physically fit boys, first of all. Although they are 16, physical requirements are the same as for jet aircraft pilots. There are a lot of candidates for the air force: about 2,000 applications to our schools yearly. Only every 8th or 9th candidate passes the air-medical test. The screening of candidates in our country does not differ from the world standard, which oscillates around every 9th, 10th candidate. Naturally, the screening does not mean that the candidates who are not admitted are sick. They simply do not fulfill the ideal requirements of the modern air force. On the other hand, those who succeeded in the positive outcome of the air-medical test, have to take entrance examination in Polish mathematics and physical fitness. Having been admitted, the young man begins his education.

[Question] Upon admission the young man gets free room and board at school. Besides regular instruction he undergoes flight training.

[Answer] The army gives him free room and board and uniforms. The students are supplied with necessary school materials and handbooks. They are also entitled to a month of vacation. After the first year the students participate in the flying fitness program (sailing, canoeing, hiking camps etc). After the second year of instruction the students take part in parachuting camps and it is mandatory that each participant jump at least seven times. After the third year all the students fly gliders. After the fourth they are jet aircraft trained. Practical classes take place during vacation. Individual instruction takes place during the school year; each student, depending on the amount of time he has at his disposal, can practice in the local aeroclub.

[Question] What are the outlines according to which the curriculum is implemented?

[Answer] Our school is a regular state school, subject to the Ministry of Education and Upbringing; regular instruction is based on the program of the Ministry of Education, while specialized training is carried out according to the Ministry of Defense, adapted to further training in Higher Officers' School in Deblin.

[Question] Is education of the young men an important task for the school's teaching staff?

[Answer] It is a typical secular school. Young people are brought up in the name of patriotism, love of their fatherland and they are conscious of goals to be undertaken in the future. Do we have any problems with them? Naturally. A young man starting his education in our school leaves his home and his mother for the first time. It is an experience. The fact is that after 8 years of elementary school, the young man leaves his home for the rest of his life: he spends 4 years with us, then in Deblin School, and then his service in the air force begins. Some of the young men resign; they realize that they failed to find their vocation (the studies are not easy), some leave us because of poor progress, some because of health reasons. In such a situation they have a choice: they may remain in our school and go to Deblin School but change the specialization, they may go to another Officers' School or go to any other secondary school.

[Question] Perhaps a few words of information on the subjects taught at school?

[Answer] Instruction lasts 4 years. The students are trained to be aircraft mechanics. Every year we have three groups. During the first year subjects do not differ from the ones taught in any other vocational school: general education and technical ones. Only during the second year there is a certain difference in comparison with the vocational schools. A new subject is introduced: the Outline of Aviation, first it includes theoretical preparation for parachuting, then flying gliders and finally flying the airplanes. In addition the students of the third and fourth year have subjects dealing with the construction and the use of airframe, engine, radioelectrical and auxiliary airplane equipment. This is the theoretical part. First, second and third year students have practical classes once a week. At that time they spend time studying radiotechnology, electronics, airframe elements, engine, and auxiliary equipment among other things.

[Question] I heard the teaching staff is composed of distinguished professors.

[Answer] We are trying to obtain the best teachers. General education subjects are taught by regular teachers similarly to other secondary schools. As for vocational subjects, we try to get higher technical school graduates with a specialization close to ours. Next, thanks to army cooperation, they obtain special training in Zamosc, Olesnica, and Jelenia Gora or Deblin. There they simply make their specialization. We have engineers from Warsaw Polytechnical School as well as graduates of the Civil Aviation Institute in Kiev.

[Question] The cooperation with the local aeroclub is good, I presume?

[Answer] We would not be able to develop our activities without the help of Aeroclub of Ziemia Lubuska, Lubuski Region. The club has the equipment (gliders, planes, parachutes) but at the same time it cannot include all the students in the training. That is why we are sending and we will be sending the remaining students for summer practice camps to those clubs who are at the level of our requirements. Of course, in our selection we choose the clubs which along with the practical training will take care of the proper upbringing of the students. Our tutors are accompanying the groups. We also would like to develop aviation sport so we would have some records in this sport in the future. If we get the equipment we will attempt to participate in the national championships. After all, the first attempts were successful for our school.

[Question] What are your plans for the near future?

[Answer] We entered the fourth year of our existence and by the same token, the year of getting ready for the finals in our school. It is our intention to combine the graduation ceremony in 1983 with naming a school patron. We want our students to be prepared for the celebrations, we want to familiarize them with the patron. Already this year the ceremony of conferring the banner by the PTA association took place on the Polish Army Day. Explanations dealing with the present situation in Poland take a lot of work. We will be working all the time of the physical fitness of our young men.

[Question] There must be outstanding students in your school?

[Answer] We have a lot of good students and very good air sportsmen. Jacek Zalewski is one of the best fourth-grade sportsmen, a glider and airplane pilot (he received a diamond as the top student in the history of our school). He achieved everything possible during his stay with us. Dariusz Granda--the best student in school--gets airplane training as a reward for his excellent results. We have others, let's take, for example, the school representation for the National Parachuting Championships in Mielec, the Multiple Event, and also this year the Junior Parachuting Championships.

[Question] There is a number of different opinions about the young people in our country. What are they like?

[Answer] If young people are given the opportunities to release their energy in a controlled manner, if somebody takes interest in them and takes care of them, they will not be in the streets. We should take good care of our young people, not by voicing declarations and words only. The interest that the young people have in aviation can play a major educational role here.

Higher Officers' School: Requirements

Warsaw SKRZYDLATA POLSKA in Polish No 27, 21 Nov 82 pp 3, 5

[Article by Pawel Elsztein: "Hotel Under the Chestnuts"]

[Text] Fall is beautiful in Deblin "Eaglets School" Szkola Orlat. The leaves on the trees are golden, particularly in the old park, where there is an old palace, the white paint is shining after the recent renovations, once the property of the Jablonowski family, now serving as an aviation school for half a century. There is always something new in Deblin. And even this time, when I visit the venerable school, I notice the ongoing renovation of the old buildings, construction of the new high-rises and here and there some excavations for the water hook-ups, electricity or gas to the newly constructed premises. I admire the new, modern buildings but as always I am attracted to the old, almost immortal buildings, mute witnesses of the history of military aviation instruction. Along the palace premises, in the park, close by the sports stadium, and for those who know the area, right behind the Warrant Officer's Club, very pleasant, low and simple in its architecture, a building has been erected among the trees. I have not seen it before, I could not have seen it anyhow, since its construction was completed in September 1982 only. It serves solely as the Recruitment Department of the candidates for WOSL Higher Officers' Aviation School, Warrant Officers' School and Aviation Secondary School, an appropriate plaque informs us. School dormitories for the candidates arriving in Deblin for the medical test or exams are situated here to satisfy the needs of the department. In the official language it is a dormitory but I have a feeling it is more like a "hotel under the chestnuts" and that is how I baptized this well-constructed and necessary place. I have always associated dormitories with a gloomy, crude building which we think is a "machine to sleep in."

The hotel under the chestnuts is nothing of this kind. Eight bedrooms are finished likes boxes for dolls. A lot of light and air, a mirror, a washbasin like a dream, coat-hangers, lockers, snow white drapes and sheers... well, I am not going to advertise it, or maybe not only pilot candidates will start lodging here. There is a lounge with a TV in the hotel, the cafeteria is going to be operating pretty soon. On the whole it is very cozy, just what the newcomers can use; maybe they will be tired, anxious, perhaps hungry, not having had enough sleep or simply not sure about their future--will they be admitted or not? I know that young people will live here, aviation is the main goal for most of them. But life is life, and it is also known that there will be bargain-seekers, maybe risk-takers with a motto--I did not succeed before, maybe I will be lucky here. Choice of a future career is always difficult. For the candidates as well as...the chief of the Recruitment Department. It is worthwhile to mention right away, without beating about the bush, that in WOSL the fighter pilots are in big demand, though they also train navigators here for command positions and political aviation officers. They conduct courses for warrant officers, upon completion of which it is possible to obtain a helicopter pilot's license, transportation pilot license, navigator for command positions or meteorologist--synoptic.

What is the social background of the WOSL candidates? Last year, as I am informed in the Recruitment Department 54.7 percent of candidates coming from the working class, 6.8 percent peasants, 29.9 percent intelligentsia and 8.5 percent from military families. There are always a lot of candidates to WOSL. Last year, for instance, there were over 800 people taking the entrance examination. It is obvious that eagerness does not always match aptitude or health unfortunately. Our young people are in poor health! Strapping fellows come to Deblin, no cripples, however air force physicians think that only every fifth candidate is fit for the service. I would not like this information to scare future pilots, but if you are in poor health it is not worthwhile to go to WOSL. The candidate must also demonstrate an avid interest in aviation. With all earnestness, I would like to cite the slogan: "From a model to a glider, from a glider to an airplane." That slogan is still very much in. Every teenage model maker, parachuter, hand-glider, glider or airplane pilot, Polish National Aeroclub member has priority; each of them has at least 50 points prior to entering WOSL and prior to asking for a pass to the Recruitment Department, in the hotel under the chestnuts. That's not enough. As it was mentioned by the Head of the Department--please read attentively--even the readers of this weekly are included in the group that has a 50 percent chance to be admitted to WOSL! Because these are, as the head of the school mentioned, people interested in aviation, often with a significant amount of information, which will facilitate mastering the difficult and numerous fields of aviation and military knowledge later on.

Visiting the headquarters of the department, naturally I gathered information regarding the admission requirements to WOSL in the academic year 1982/83, since our readers ask about it most frequently. WOSL candidates can submit their applications to the military recruiting main stations at their respective place of residence. It can be easily taken care of by means of suitable forms available at WKU Military Recruiting Main Station. The application should be in before the 30 April 1983 deadline. The enclosures should contain: original birth certificate or a photocopy of it, certificate of Polish citizenship in case somebody does not yet have personal ID, or temporary proof of identity, recommendation from a social organization, place of work or school, graduation certificate, original or a notarized copy, (naturally it has to be graduation from a high school that entitles to higher studies) and undergraduate students may present a certificate of eligibility for taking the finals, 1 picture 35mm x 45mm; candidates who are not of age yet have to include written parents' permission.

Having submitted all those documents, the candidates are sent by the Main Recruiting Station for medical tests in the Military Aviation Hospital in Deblin. The tests can be taken from 30 January till 30 June 1983. The referral entitles the candidate to a free ticket on PKP [Polish Railway], room and board--right in the hotel under the chestnuts. The rest takes 1 to 3 days. Now an important information. In order to take the test one has to report there on the day before the appoimtment before 2050 hours Wednesday at the latest.

The medical tests check whether the state of health of the candidate is suitable for flight service. The specialists check hearts, lungs, sight, hearing, they want to know if the candidate is very nervous, if he can distinguish all the colors, whether his sense of balance is all right....
After the medical tests, having completed them successfully, each WOSL candidate receives a note with the information about the date of the entrance exam. The exam consists of the following subjects: math (written and oral), physics (written), knowledge of Poland and modern world (it is an oral test during which the candidate's knowledge about aviation is tested), physical fitness (100 meter dash, 1,000 meter run, long jump, bar exercises and swimming 50 meter free style), foreign language (Russian, German, English to choose from). In addition the candidate undergoes the psychotechnical tests.

If a candidate passed all of his tests he will go to a designated Aeroclub for a Military Aviation Preparatory Camp of the second degree (where he flies ZLIN 42M) and having completed the camp successfully he is finally admitted to WOSL. Naturally, here we are talking about the candidates for jet aircraft pilot.

Candidates to Warrant Officers' Air Force School have to pass a physical fitness test only and undergo psychotechnical tests.

All the WOSL candidates should be told (according to the advice of the Recruitment Department) that the required reading in math is a book by B. Leitner and W. Zakowski "Preparatory Course for Higher Technical Schools" WNT [Wydawnictwo Naukowo Techniczne Publishing House], and "Physics for Higher School Candidates," also WNT. Studies in WOSL last 4 years, in Warrant Officers' School 2 years.

Finally, some information about the Zwirko Wigura Aviation Secondary School, affiliated to WOSL in Deblin. The candidates should be boys elementary school (8 grades) graduates, who are no more than 16. The application should include a filled form sent by 15 April 1983 to Liceum Lotnicze, 08-521 Deblin. During February, March, and May the candidates will be called in for the medical tests in Deblin. Only then the candidate may submit other documents including: recommendation from school, elementary school graduation certificates from the 7th and 8th grades, certificate of Polish citizenship, two pictures (35mm x 45mm), written parents' permission, and written commitment to pay all the amounts due in case the candidate is expelled or acquitted from school. The candidates take examinations in Polish, math and physical fitness. Basically, Aviation Secondary School prepares candidates for WOSL aircraft pilots. The studies take 4 years. If it happens that during the course of studies the cadet does not fully meet the requirements of a fighter pilot, having graduated, he has the option of WOSL studies to be navigator of command positions or an Air Force political officer. Those candidates who did not pass their diploma exam can enter Warrant Officer School affiliated to WOSL.

Higher Officers' School: Program

Warsaw SKRZYDLATA POLSKA in Polish No 28, 28 Nov 82 pp 4, 5

[Article by Pawel Elsztein: "Sparks Flying Behind Us"]

[Text] When I turned to the Janek Krasicki Higher Aviation Officers' School [WOSL] with a request to enable me to meet warrant officers and get acquainted with their curriculum--the reply was prompt. Thanks to that permission I am able to visit particular school departments without any problems, and there I meet officers, lecturers, and warrant officer students. Just on the eve of Warrant Officer's Day.

For the time being I am having tea in the cafeteria of the Science Department and waiting for the lecture to be over because I want to talk to--and

I am interested in one thing, so to speak--how did they arrive at WOSL? What drove them here? Was it the glorified-from-infancy love of aviation, or was it something else? Before I meet the officers I get acquainted with the curriculum which includes theoretical as well as practical training. I am comfortable and I can take all kinds of notes; I have a feeling I did well starting in the kitchen. Long ago, I still remember it, they used to say that a good soldier avoids fire and his first steps in the unit should be directed towards the kitchen.... Reflections of this kind are interrupted from time to time by the thunder of jet engines, sparks which are flying right over where I am sitting.... Well, but if they were not there, one would not know one is in aviation school.

Here is the information about the WOSL studies. They last 4 years, i.e. 8 semesters. During the first 5 semesters the cadets in the fighter pilot course work on the theory, and during the remaining ones they study theory and practice. The studies enable them to be officer pilots and at the same time engineers of contemporary military aviation.

I copied exactly the information. Included in the theoretical WOSL studies are: general military subjects, sociopolitical subjects, general technology subjects, and specialized aviation subjects. During the studies various methods of instruction, diversified technical resources and the newest achievements of pedagogics are used. The basic methods include: lectures, tutorials, seminars, lab classes, programmed activities, problem solving, consultations etc. Individual studies of the listeners under the guidance of professional teaching staff constitute the basis, however.

WOSL theoretical studies start 16 September. The preliminary period is concluded by the swearing-in ceremony and matriculation, after which the listener gets the title of cadet officer. In Warrant Officers' School studies begin 27 September. After the preliminary time period and swearing-in, the listener gets the title of cadet. Each semester is concluded by an examination session, during which oral and written tests take place and credits are earned. One has to add that Saturday afternoons and Sundays are free from classes. One more thing--the daily routine of the cadets is more organized than that in civilian higher schools. Preparation of future officers for the conditions of military life is of primary concern here.

As for practical training, it includes flights on mock-up training planes, fighter training planes, helicopters and transportation airplanes. Flight training takes place on TS-11 Iskra planes, then fighter plane training follows using training fighter planes and fighter planes UT MiG-15, Lim-2 and Lim-5. Thus, the equipment is well known, tried out in our aviation training for years. Those who are interested in the technical specifications of the mentioned planes and be referred to books published by WKiL [Department of Transportation and Communication] "Flying Poland" library series, and in particular to A. Glass' "Contemporary Training Planes" and A. Morgala's "Fighter Planes in Polish Aviation."

In the Warrant Officers' School affiliated to WOSL, the curriculum includes subjects like: construction and exploitation of airframes, construction and use of plane engines and auxiliary equipment, air navigation, meteorology, electronics and flight mechanics in addition to sociopolitical and general military subjects. Besides, there are parachute training and practical flying. Having completed 2 years of studies, the graduates obtain the degree of pilot of military aviation, navigator meteorology technician and degree of warrant officer depending on the specialization.

Practical training of the cadets is conducted on helicopters SM-2 and Mi-2 and plane An-2. Full information on the equipment can be found in the books mentioned.

As soon as I finished putting down this information, the door of the lecture hall opened and I introduced myself to the cadets. I chose, by chance, five of them asking the question: How did they find themselves in WOSL? Just at this moment I recall the distant times when a similar "statement for the press" had to have tens of OKs before its publication on various so-called levels, and the final reply was censored under the most powerful microscopes. But this would never have happened here in "Eaglets School."

My interlocutors look at me, a civilian, with interest; my visit may well be a break in the monotony of their studies. They admit they like the press, although in the summer of 1982 some female reporter from Warsaw spent as much as 2 days here, a lot of time was devoted to her, but so far she has not written a word. I defend my unknown colleague as much as I can, but I know that the excuses are not very convincing (she might have lost her notes, the chief editor did not OK it, she will write in the future--the year is not over yet, etc.)

Senior cpt cadet Henryk Choluj is already a third-year student. He completed 5 parachute jumps, 11 hours of flying gliders, 21 hours of piston-engine airplane and over 80 hours of flying on the Iskra jet engine. He comes from Radom. He is a graduate of Aviation Secondary School, where he studied for 4 years. A school friend talked him into joining the air force (perhaps he said, "Listen, Henry, let's go into the air force, there we'll have a ball"). Well, after elementary school, after the competition of graduation certificates, he landed in Aviation Secondary School. How is it going in WOSL now? At the beginning it was tough, but now when the "Sparks are behind us," when we feel like pilots or we have prospects of flying fighter planes and then supersonic planes will follow, the difficulties seem to be much easier to overcome.

Senior cpt cadet Miroslaw Lentas is also a graduate of Aviation Secondary School, affiliated to WOSL. He learned about the school quite by chance from a friend. At present a third-year student, he underwent parachuting training, flew 12 hours on Zlin 42M and almost 100 hours on Iskra. He comes from Radom. He says he does well in both studies and flying.

Senior cpt cadet Miroslaw Kolczyk is 21, comes from Bydgoszcz, also a graduate of Aviation Secondary School. He has Iskry behind him too. He owes everything connected with flying and mastering the art of piloting to his instructor cpt Matyjaszek, his devoted tutor and at the same time a young pilots' friend. He found himself in the air force not by chance. His father is an employee of the aircraft industry. True enough, his mother was not too pleased with the career her son has chosen, feeling in her loving heart that there is risk and responsibility involved.

Senior cpt cadet Mariusz Kutryj wanted to start his aviation career also in Aviation Secondary School in Deblin. Unfortunately he was screened out during the medical tests. He went to a regular secondary school and joined Lublin Aeroclub. He was a member of a Gliders' and Parachuting Section. Aviation sports were not his final goal; he attacked Deblin once more. This time directly to WOSL. He succeeded. A third-year student at present, he completed his Iskry training. Soon he will be flying fighter planes.

Senior cpt cadet Jozef Karnyski is a second-year student. He does not hide the fact that he is here by accident. He gave in to his colleague. Luckily, he passed all the tests. He completed the LPW course in the Podkarpacie Aeroclub. He got involved, aviation attracted him. At present, he completed his Iskry training.

It is difficult to predict on the basis of the statements by those few cadets whether their careers are typical for WOSL students. Later, I found out that really the majority of students come from Aviation Secondary Schools and only a small percentage from Aeroclubs. The decision to expand Deblin School was thus not accidental (a new building is being added), as well as an identical school in Zielona Gora has been founded, (65-247 Zielona Gora, ul. Kisielinska 18). Those two schools (the first one for 10 years, the latter for 3) supply the majority of the candidates to WOSL. And after all, it was not long ago that they were talking about the "Deblin experiment," not everybody thought it was all right to have affiliated schools, nobody could predict, of course, whether the school would prove to be useful or whether it would be a proverbial "flop." Today, after 10 years of experience one can definitely talk about a success, achieved thanks to the existence of the Zwirko and Wigura Deblin Aviation Secondary School.

The students of the school pass through all the degrees of aviation knowledge. There are model makers among them, parachuting, gliding, aviation spots belong to obligatory subjects. Parachuting, gliding and flight training take place on the spot in "Eaglets' Club."

Talking about the school, I have to add that during 4 years the students master: Polish, math, electronics, and specialized subjects such as air navigation, construction of airframes and their engines, auxiliary and radio equipment of an airplane in addition to the attractive air training and obligatory defense. Aviation Secondary School students have free room and board, receive handbooks and school supplies, obtain original and good looking uniforms.

Here with this information my first day in Deblin comes to an end. Tomorrow I am going to see the runways where they fly Iskry. You will hear about it in a week.

12246
CSO: 2600/311

WORKER MOTIVATION, INCOME, ACTIVISM ANALYZED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 10 Jan 83 p 5

[Article by Zbigniew Sufin]

> [Text] An important problem in our social policy is to find a way to influence living and working conditions so that people's activism in the sphere of work will become a lasting phenomenon, i.e., so that this activism will be properly stimulated and reinforced. Of particular importance here is the problem of motivation of activism in a situation of crises and shortages, when the effect of incentives, as well as of mechanisms which influence people's work, is distorted by negative economic, social, and political phenomena.

It might seem that consistent application of the principle "to each according to his work" would be sufficient to produce proper ratios between earnings and work, and between income and professional activism. In a situation where factors distorting job attitudes and motivations are operative, interdependence between work, earnings, and income does not develop according to a pattern in which an increase in earnings and income brings about an increase in labor productivity and an increase in professional activism which shows also in the raising of the level of one's professional qualifications and in concern about the effectiveness of every action.

Essential Factors

The influence of operative incentives on professional activism can be weakened not only by phenomena of inflation and market [supply] difficulties, which make it impossible to purchase needed goods for money earned. A negative influence on professional activism is also exerted by phenomena and facts on a social nature, which disturb the regularity of development of ratios between wages and incomes and professional activism. These are factors which are evident in a work milieu, as well as factors with a wider range which cause specific distortions in our economic and social life.

A study which was made in late 1970's and early 1980's showed that the development of a correlation between income level and job satisfaction did not prove that the higher were the earnings and family income of workers, peasants-workers, and white-collar workers, the more often they demonstrated satisfaction with their jobs. The percentages of those dissatisfied with their jobs were fairly similar in all income groups and all social-professional categories. On the other hand, there was a relationship between income level in worker families and a desire to change job location. Workers whose families had lower incomes expressed more often a desire to change their place of work. It is possible to surmise that in households of lower-income workers one could more often find employees with lower qualifications, whose professional careers were less stable.

From the study it was also possible to conclude that self-improvement through vocational courses was a more frequent occurrence when family income was higher; this applied to workers, peasants-workers, and white-collar workers. Evidently, the standard of living has an influence on professional self-improvement. It is probably easier for higher-income employees to engage in professional self-improvement that it is for employees who must strive in order to increase their low incomes. However, we should emphasize that professional self-improvement is not a mass occurrence also in higher-income groups.

There were similar trends in the development of ratios between income and professional advancement. The higher was the income of workers, peasants-workers and white-collar workers who participated in the study, the greater was among them the percentage of those who advanced professionally during the last three years. Employees whose families have higher incomes have, in general, better opportunities for individual development, for attainment of higher [professional] qualifications, for self-improvement, etc.

It is possible to surmise that if the ratios between earnings and income and work were developing in an orderly fashion, the professional activism of persons with higher incomes would be greater, but often this is not the case. Various factors are operative here, disturbing these ratios and causing distortions in professional activism. Ongoing research has pointed up the distorting influence of such factors as irregularities in employee remuneration, irregularities in social benefits, irregularities in production processes, and phenomena of deprivation and anomaly as well as phenomena of repeated distribution of work.

Significance of Evaluation

A reason for dissatisfaction and for low level of professional activism is often the fact that some employees with identical qualifications and seniority and performing identical tasks receive a higher wage rate or are included in a higher wage group. Not infrequently, tensions are caused by the fact that newly hired employees, because of the job market situation, receive higher wages than employees who have been working in some plants for many years. Employees participating in the study often complained about injustice in job evaluation. Indications were given that frequently no background information was available on prizes and awards and on employees receiving them; that there was lack of consultation with worker collectives about these matters, and that proceedings dealing with these matters were never made public, which produced conflicts and tensions. Employees were particularly incensed about manifestations of tolerance toward poor work, waste, and bungling.

Irregularities in plant social benefits are also a factor that has a negative effect on professional activism. They consist in, among other things, the fact that employees who are better off frequently take advantage of these benefits. It is significant that employees with higher and secondary education were the ones who complained about conflicts concerning social benefits more often than employees whose level of education and qualifications were lower.

While describing a situation prevailing in a work milieu, employees participating in the study frequently pointed to phenomena which bore testimony to the occurrence of deprivation, the latter consisting in a contradiction between what people desired and what they actually possessed and what really existed. Particularly great were discrepancies between desired and received wages and incomes, between desirable social relationships in a work place and actual relationships between employees and supervisors, between desirable work conditions and actual work conditions, these being often bitterly complained about.

Demands and Realities

As regards the anomaly which is manifested in contradictions between differing standards, principles, and values, the occurrence of this anomaly in work milieus is evidenced most frequently in contradictions between what is demanded and what is actually implemented. For example, considerable achievements are shown in reports, but actually there are no achievements. Employees know about it, and it irritates them. Some blame the management but do not question the reports. Others feel that the reports release them from any obligation to work efficiently.

With regard to so-called secondary distribution, we can say, in general, that it consists in the fact that individual persons or social groups participate in the distribution of the national income to a greater extent than is represented by their share in producing this income. They attain this through suitable manipulation of goods, regulations, standards, and social relationships. Instead of striving to obtain better wages so as to create a base for their income, they engage in all kinds of actions bringing them benefits for which they do not have to do any work. Income which is received from secondary distribution is often much higher than income received from work. Included in this income are bribes received for selling hard-to-obtain goods or for taking care of some matter; also included are profits from black-market operations, profits obtained through use of a managerial position for personal gain, etc. This convinces many people that it is possible to attain something not through honest work but through participation in secondary distribution, through all kinds of "deals."

Many phenomena and factors affect the correct ratios between earnings and income and professional activism. This represents a serious problem for our social policy to cope with. We know that activism in the work sphere is of crucial importance for the implementation of our economic and social goals and for the overcoming of crisis phenomena. The general effects of our social policy will depend on whether, and to what extent, phenomena causing distortion in professional activism are considered in the decisionmaking process with regard to wages and prices, in resolving social problems, in developing work conditions and social relationships in work milieus, and in overcoming the distorting effects of secondary distribution.

9577
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RESOLUTION ON CREATION OF OPINION RESEARCH CENTER PUBLISHED

Warsaw MONITOR POLSKI in Polish No 23, 5 Oct 82 p 254 Item 198

[Text] The Council of Ministers resolves the following with the objective in mind being, the assurance of public opinion information [dissemination] undertaken and accomplished by the government concerning social and economic matters:

1. A Public Opinion Research Center is to be established, and will henceforth be referred to as the "Center."

2.1. The Center undertakes the organization of public opinion research, the working out of analytic research, and the presentation of conclusions to the premier and the Presidium.

2. Specifically, the following constitute Center tasks:

1.) initiation, organization, and implementation of public opinion research in matters of interest to the government,

2.) cooperation with organizations which carry out public opinion research, commissioning of research, and participatory supervision in research implementation,

3.) analysis of public opinion results,

4.) effectuation of proposals obtained from the information, and possessed by state organs and institutes, as well as the masa media,

5.) the carrying out of other public opinion research tasks undertaken by commission or under own initiative.

3. The tasks outlined in statute 2 are accomplished by the Center, within its work plan which is approved by the Council of Ministers Sociopolitical Committee. The Center's work plan should take into consideration, those tasks ensuing from the government's program, as well as the Economic Advisory Council proposals.

4. The Council of Ministers Sociopolitical Committee chairman oversees the implementation of Center tasks outlined in statute 2, the Council of Ministers Sociopolitical Committee chairman may establish the unplanned Center tasks, that is those resulting from the government's current needs.

3. The tasks detailed in statute 2 are carried out by the Center by means of:

1.) instructions to establishments, research institutes and secondary schools, regarding the implementation of public opinion research,

2.) the conduct of surveys, and inspection and verification research,

3.) the exchange of experiences and materials connected with the public opinion research,

4.) working out of instructions concerning the elaboration of public opinion research analysis conclusions,

5.) the carrying out of other tasks connected with the public opinion research.

4.1. The Center presents the public opinion research conclusions and other analyses to the Premier, to Presidium members, to the chief ot the Office of the Council of Ministers, and to the government press spokesman.

2. The Council of Ministers Sociopolitical Committee chairman may instruct the Center to present its research conclusions to the indicated organs, establishments, or individuals, as well as to inform the public as to research conclusions and the manner in which they are to be used.

5. The Center works jointly with the state organs, establishments, and organizations which conduct public opinion research, and utilizes their experience in its work. The Center collaborates with the government press bureau.

6.1. The Center acts as an independent body, subordinate to the chief of the Office of the Council of Ministers.

2. The director and two deputies supervise the Center's work.

3. The chief ot the Office of the Council of Ministers appoints the Center director and his deputies.

4. The Center Council, an advisory and initiatory body functions alongside the Center's director.

5. The Center's director is obligated to consult with the Council on basic Center operational matters.

7.1. Center financial expeiditures constitute part of the central budget belonging in part to the "Science" department of the Office of the Council of Ministers.

2. The Center's financial accounting staff is provided by the Institute for Personnel Organization, Management, and Excellence.

8.1. The Center may employ research personnel. In matters pertaining to the rights and obligations of these employees, the appropriate regulation governed by the 17 February 1961 law (Government Regulations and Laws Gazette of 1975, no 7, item 41) is applicable.

2. The Center statute bestowed by the chief ot the Office of the Council of Ministers defines the specific organization, framework, and operational and structural procedure of the Center, as well as the procedure for the Center Council's appointment, organization, and tasks.

9. The law will become effective on the day of promulgation.

12229
CSO: 2600/328

POLAND

COMMENTATOR EVALUATES ALLEGATIONS IN ATTACK ON POPE

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 15-16 Jan 83 p 5

[Article by Janusz Stefanowicz]

[Text] Availing ourselves of a definition of Lord Macaulay, classic of English historiography, we can say that every schoolboy knows which is the oldest world profession in the sphere of mutual relations between people. Since international relations are less widely analyzed it is worthwhile to recall that in this very sphere the oldest function is being performed by the intelligence service and, correspondingly, by counterintelligence. For regardless of the period of history and the form of government, the preservation of a state is governed by two primary motives which reflect the fundamental national interests. The first is the will to endure, and to preserve one's own existence and identity, that is, sovereignty. In international relations this will is expressed by a constant search for the optimum security. The second motive is the enhancement of power, that is, the possibility of development in the midst of other states having different interests. These two fundamental interests are realized in foreign policy in the first place through a constant endeavor to achieve optimum security by creating and strengthening its prerequisites. In the ordinary course of things a rational security policy consists of as precise an evaluation as possible of the designs of potential adversaries, as well as the frustration of their moves contrary to our own national interests.

This simple remainder was necessary to assert that no state, whether ancient or even more contemporary, plausibly maintain that it does not engage in an intelligence activity. It would be a more than absurd argument, as if a mother of three children would assert her virginity. It would also reflect discredit on the authorities of such a state since it would mean that they are unpractical or naive. There is no evidence whatever, for example, that Bulgarian authorities deserve such a reproach. And I assume therefore that the Bulgarians do have their intelligence service. The contemporary world (as it is certainly known to every schoolboy) is divided into two main sets of states which diligently observe each other and which doubtless in their overall foreign policy--likewise as regards intelligence--include a certain specialization. In short, I cannot believe that some state is so intent on improvement of its own system and on promoting the well-being of its citizens that it would have no time for an activity indispensable for its own and its allies' security.

Having stated all this openly, I wish to express the opinion that I consider the implicating of the Bulgarian and indirectly Soviet intelligence services in the attempt at assassination of Pope John Paul II to be nonsense, as well as an intentional political intrigue.

This is nonsense for several reasons. In the first place the classic question of the Roman law and policy arises--cui prodest? Who benefits by it? A reckless, although purely rhetorical question of Stalin's, how many divisions has the Pope, has caused a lot of moral damage to the Soviet Union. His successors not only carefully avoided such generalizations, but more importantly, have watched with well-wishing interest the evolution of the papacy and Church in the direction of the so-called suprapolitical attitude, that is, an intentionally impartial appraisal of merits and flaws of each of the two predominant systems in the contemporary world. This principle has been adopted and forcefully approved the 2nd Vatican Council, which was received with due recognition in the socialist countries. Moreover, the increased involvement of the Vatican in peace policy, dating from the far-famed encyclical of Pope John XXIII "Pacem in terris," met with unvarying sympathy and public acceptance from the highest representatives of socialist states. It would be difficult to deny that the line of conduct and even philosophy of the pontificate of successive popes was met with a differentiated appraisal of individual states of our community, or more precisely of the different circles that form their leading bodies. However, between this observation and suspicion of complicity in the attempt on the life of Pope there is an abyss as great as between public criticism and a shot fired by a sniper.

There is also another argument. Over a long period of time every intelligence service reveals its definite style. It is well known, for example, that the CIA took a liking to treacherous murders. On the other hand the Soviet intelligence service with a noteworthy scrupulousness avoided such methods, even during World War II, giving preference to a deep observation (and penetration) of the opponent. Once again, the point is not moral appraisal but techniques. Most probably, it was in following this very criterium that managerial circles of the CIA--as well as those of the Turkish and West German Intelligence services--have recently expressed their skepticism as regards the "Bulgarian connection" of the attempt at Pope's assassination (according to "Newsweek" magazine of 3 Jan 83).

Let us return, however, to the question: Cui prodest? I do not want to lay a suspicion against workers of the Italian administration of justice. Probably Agca--feeling abandoned by all after being sentenced to life imprisonment--made depositions whose scrupulous verification is their responsibility. There are therefore some leads that justify the undertaking of an inquiry. But is it not that such leads might be strengthened by a telephone connection with a highly placed, very "political" personage?

Now, what might be the purpose for such a personage of a telephone contact with security services of the Italian Republic? It could suit the following argumentation: In June, Pope John Paul II intends to make a second pilgrimage to Poland. The importance of this pilgrimage should obviously be seen primarily in its religious dimension and devotion to Catholic faith of the majority of Poles. However, political manipulators--even if belonging to a nominally Christian party--are also conscious of another aspect of this event.

Here, the visible head of the Church is to make a visit to a socialist country, member of the community of socialist states, which has defended and confirmed both these attributes in a difficult period from 13 December 1981. The casting of a shadow on other states of this community can place both their distinguished guest and his hosts in an especially unfortunate situation. Either one wants to make impossible this pilgrimage (which would make difficult a positive arrangement of relations between authorities and society), or somehow separate Poland and her authorities from that community. In both cases the net profit would be on the side of those who until now cannot tolerate the existence of states with different political systems and who consider Poland as the "weakest link" to the community of socialist countries.

Such premises should not be left unknown to prosecuting magistrates of the Italian republic if they intend to fulfill their duties honestly and to remain--according to the title of a once-famous film--beyond any suspicion.

1015
CSO: 2600/278

BRIEFS

CEMENT PLANT SABOTAGE INVESTIGATION--A press spokesman for the Prosecutor General's Office has announced that the regional prosecutor's office in Opatow has initiated an investigation into the act of sabotage committed during the night of 23 January 1983 at the OZAROW Cement Plant. The perpetrators disconnected the electrical supply to a transport-type conveyor belt, causing a stoppage in production for several hours which resulted in a loss of approximately 40,000 zlotys. The prosecutor has temporarily arrested as suspects in the crime two employees of the OZAROW Cement Plant: 23-year-old Bogdan Z. and 32-year-old Edward K. It is suspected that the perpetrators were motivated by disagreements with their superiors. The crime of which the suspects are accused is punishable by imprisonment for not less than 3 years. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Feb 83 p 5]

CULTURAL CLUB DISBANDS--At a general meeting in Krakow of the members of the "Kuznica" club of creative artists and cultural activists on 30 January, it was decided to dissolve the association, in accordance with the 20 December 1982 resolution of the Politburo of the Party's Central Committee aimed at strengthening party unity. At the same time, the general assembly accepted a motion by the "Kuznica" leadership and the Krakow authorities concerning the creation of a new center of culture. The representatives of the Krakow political authorities and the members of "Kuznica" expressed heartfelt thanks to the longtime chairman of the club, the well-known writer Tadeusz Holuj, for his unselfish and fruitful work in "Kuznica." [Text] [Krakow DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 31 Jan 83 p 1]

CSO: 2600/398

ROMANIA

NOTES ON ILLEGAL ACTIONS OF PARTY OFFICIALS

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Nov 82 pp 89-92

[Unattributed article]

[Text] A Step That Is Not at All in Accord with the Seriousness of the Violations Committed

Unfortunately, there are also people who, having gotten to a certain position, do not do anything but profit as much as possible from this situation, even at the cost of abuses that cause serious harm. Naturally, they come up against the riposte of the public, an implacable foe of such attitudes. Constantin Visienescu, the secretary of the party committee and the mayor of the commune of Ionesti in Gorj County, is also such a man. Many and countless are the illegalities committed by him. The public pointed them out promptly, and the investigation made by a staff set up by the county party committee revealed that the information corresponded to the truth. Thus, the mayor bought from the CAP [agricultural production cooperative] four piglets for which he paid less than the price set by the general assembly of cooperators. He procured improperly 10 cement pipes for his individual farm, they being acquired on the basis of an address issued by the communal people's council. He enabled the personnel in the management of the cooperative to acquire 1,700 kg of corn, contrary to the provisions of Decree 306/1981, they "rewarding" him in gratitude with 200 kg. Several times, he did not heed decisions of the management council of the cooperative, giving agreement in writing, for example, to the head of the livestock farm to sell 20 piglets not to the cooperative members who have contracts with the state, as a decision of the management forum of the CAP says, but to totally different persons. Things also went similarly in the case of the sale of a large quantity of watermelons, which were utilized contrary to the stipulations of the management body, with over half of the sum obtained--namely, about 12,000 lei--being kept by those who were involved in the sale.

Poorly trained politically, the mayor did not hesitate to resort to methods that did not suit his position, in order to get certain favors. He celebrated his name day at the buffet of the cooperative for production, purchases and commodity sales, during the workday, inviting several persons from the people's council and the management of the CAP. At the same time, he closed his eyes to the abuses of others. The head of the livestock farm, Engr Ana Hirs, took from the CAP a young sow for which she paid as if it weighed 18 kg, it weighing nearly double--about 35 kg--in reality. He put off the taking of steps toward the violations of the chairman of the CAP, Alexandru Stegarescu, who appropriated cement and tile from the cooperative.

Of course, such acts could not go unpunished. Constantin Gradinaru, a delegate of the CAP, and Stefan Dumitrescu, a driver, who sold the melons, committing the infraction of forgery and use of forgery, were expelled from the party. Constantin Iancu, a vice chairman of the CAP, was punished with "a vote of censure," and Paul Tudorica, a chief engineer, with "a reprimand." Alexandru Stegarescu was suspended from his position and punished with "a vote of censure."

However, what happened to the mayor, the perpetrator of most of the offenses committed? As follows from the report received from the Gorj County Party Committee, he "was punished with 'a vote of censure' and his attention was directed very seriously to his style of work" (!). A step taken gently, not at all meant to straighten out the commune's affairs, to constitute an example of strictness and firmness toward the abuses committed by the one found, still, at the head of the commune. Because, through his actions, which totally discredited him in the eyes of the community, the mayor excluded himself from the responsible positions that he holds, and the transformation of this act into a reality ought to occur as rapidly as possible.

And Yet, How Was the Director Helped by the Party Committee?

A number of violations committed by Ion Tugulan, the director of Group Number Five of Installation Worksites of the Timisoara Construction-Assembly Trust, were pointed out to us in a letter sent to the editorial office. Investigated by the municipal party committee, the information turned out to be well founded to a great extent. In the response sent to the periodical it was stated that, misusing his position, the director illegally did work on the garage, stall and apartment that he has. At the same time, he did not pay the cost of either the manual labor or the materials. Engaged in such acts of dishonesty, the one in question no longer concerned himself in a fully responsible manner with the fulfillment of tasks. So, for example, he did not notice that within the group of worksites persons were employed in production posts but used in nonproduction activities.

These are acts which discredit to a high degree a person who holds a management position, which make him unfit for it. We would have thus expected the taking of exemplary steps. But the director was punished just with "a vote of censure," with a 10-percent reduction in base pay and management allowance for 3 months, being o obliged, at the same time, to pay for the materials and manual labor for the work done. He remained in the post that he used to gain personal advantages. However, as was also pointed out at the plenum of the RCP Central Committee on 7-8 October of this year, no one is allowed to use his position for personal ends, to commit abuses, to violate the laws. It is understood that anyone who does this must be punished with the due rigor.

Unfortunately, the conclusion regarding the way in which the director's activity was viewed by the party committee is also missing from the response sent by the Timisoara Municipal Party Committee. The fact that for a long time it did not take a militant position toward the above-mentioned irregularities denotes the party body's weak concern for exercising the right of control, for closely watching the way in which the management personnel do their duty. And signals for a decisive intervention existed, be it only that the director was constantly absent from the general assemblies of the local party organization, often without well-founded reasons. This is why we feel that there must also be a thorough analysis of the reasons that caused the party committee to be passive, with the necessary steps being taken to avoid such states of affairs both in the respective unit and in other enterprises and institutions.

Starting from...a Question

Not long ago, a reader asked us the question: "If a secretary of the local party organization was punished with 'a vote of censure with a warning,' can he still hold such a position?" Clearly, a legitimate question if the violations committed entailed such a statutory disciplinary measure. For precisely this reason, the letter was sent to the Vrancea County Party Committee in order for the reported case to be examined.

From the very outset, it must be said that the irregularities committed by the one in question, named Ion Chirica, the secretary of the local party organization in the village of Vulcaneasa in the commune of Mera, reflected a totally unsuitable moral makeup. He came to work late and consumed alcoholic beverages on duty, aften managing to cause a scandal. However, the widening of the investigation also brought to light other acts, even more serious. Thus, as a collection agent, I. C. appropriated large sums of money through forgery and use of forgery, causing a loss of 19,000 lei. As a result, he was discussed at the plenum of the communal party committee, of which he was a member, which decided to expel him from the party body. In addition, for his acts incompatible with the capacity of party member, he was expelled from the party.

Naturally, this is an extremely rare case. But it serves to bring out once again the need for the party bodies and organizations to follow with much more attention the way in which their members behave, to step in promptly when they find the least tendency toward unsuitable behavior. Unfortunately, however, the above-mentioned local party organization and communal party committee did not do this, and the consequence was seen. This is why it is necessary to examine the causes that facilitated the appearance and maintenance of the attitude of indifference toward the way in which I. C. behaved, to discuss the conclusions drawn on the occasion of the instruction of the party bodies and apparatus, in order to prevent the appearance of similar shortcomings.

An Exemplary Riposte

The act occurred in the commune of Vinatori in Mehedinti County. The communal people's council improperly took from the area of the Braniste Agricultural Production Cooperative 3.51 hectares of land, which it rented to various persons to grow corn. What would be the hidden motive for this violation? It is revealed to us clearly by reading the list of those who "rented" the land: Gheorghe Iancu, the secretary of the communal party committee and the mayor of the commune; Constantin Blagniceanu, the secretary of the executive bureau of the communal people's council; Leonard Tican, a cashier of the people's council; and so on. That is, precisely people obliged to defend the law and not to violate it flagrantly.

The secretariat of the Mehedinti County Party Committee reacted promptly to these violations. The above-mentioned, plus Gheorghe Oprea, a vice chairman of the executive bureau, and Constantin Aflori, a chief engineer of the CAP, were punished with "a vote of censure," and Dumitru Sava, the chairman of the cooperative, with "a reprimand." It was also decided that the land would be returned to the unit, and the entire quantity of seed corn obtained would be turned over to the central state supply. A welcome, exemplary step.

In the Guise of False Reports--Irresponsibility, Superficiality

In terms of records, the Hunedoara Mining Enterprise performed a suitable economic activity, ending the year 1980 with a stock of concentrates of 4,400 tons of metal. However, the reality revealed not long ago shows a totally different situation, with the difference created between the statistical balance sheet and the amount of concentrates actually existing in the yards of the preparation plan being almost double. Thus, according to the metal content in the concentrate, the amount of 2,332 tons was supposed to appear on the balance sheet, and not the 4,400 tons that were entered on the balance sheet drawn up. What exactly generated such a discrepancy?

For more than a whole year, the respective department of the enterprise "forgot" to draw up the metal balance sheet, which gives the metal content exactly and which was supposed to be drawn up at the end of each month, making simple approximations--naturally, with this indicator being inflated each time. It is hard to imagine with what professional responsibility the personnel there worked, with what political consciousness they acted, since, instead of being the first to make the necessary measurements, to report any trend of a drop in metal content, they preferred a convenient and dishonest course, distorting the reality from one month to another.

Notified, the bureau of the Hunedoara Municipal Party Committee stepped in, getting the management of the enterprise to set up a program for making up the shortfalls occurring due to the failure to comply with the metal content, so skillfully hidden in the statistical reports. The analysis made also revealed other illegalities. For example, contrary to the regulations in force, the construction of two halls was achieved through misappropriation of funds, with the related expenses being covered from production funds, not from investment funds.

Examining the situation created, the bureau of the municipal party committee judged that a great deal of responsibility for these serious violations went to the enterprise's director, who was punished with "a vote of censure with a warning."

As for the secretary of the party committee, who was not a stranger to the violations committed, taking part in some with full knowledge, without thinking of the consequences, he was punished with "a reprimand," which does not express at all the strictness that must be manifested toward such a member. Instead of being the first to expose, to combat any kind of act of indiscipline, immediately taking drastic steps against those who ignore the legal provisions, he tolerated them, showing an "understanding" toward those who made such decisions. Moreover, although he knew that false reports were being made, he did not step in to put an end to the illegal system, to eliminate the discrepancies existing between the statistical reports and the stocks of concentrates found in the yards. What guarantees are there that in the future he will not close his eyes again, when for 2 whole years he abetted and even encouraged the accumulation of illegalities, endorsing the commission of them?

These are questions that the bureau of the municipal party committee has still not asked.

12105
CSO: 2700/104

DECREE ON HARD CURRENCY PREMIUM AMENDED

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 118, 30 Dec 82 p 2

[Council of State Decree amending Article 1 paragraph 1 of Decree No 184/1974 on the hard currency premium in effect in the purchase and sale of hard currency for non-commercial operations]

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article I -- Article 1 paragraph 1 of Decree No 184/1974 on the hard currency premium in effect in the purchase and sale of hard currencies for non-commercial operations, republised in BULETINUL OFICIAL, Part I, No 12 of 25 February 1981, is amended and will read as follows:

"The hard currency premium in effect for the purchase and sale of the currencies of non-socialist countries for non-commercial operations is set at 179.64 percent of the official exchange rate in lei."

Article II -- The provisions of the present decree are in effect as of 29 December 1982.

Article III -- Decree No 184/1974 on the hard currency premium which is in effect in the purchase and sale of hard currencies for non-commercial operations, with the modification made by the present decree, will be republished in BULETINUL OFICIAL.

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU
President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 28 December 1982

No 455

CSO: 2700/119

AMENDED DECREE ON PREMIUMS FOR HARD CURRENCY SALES, PURCHASES

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I, No 1, 10 Jan 83 pp 1-2

[Republication of Council of State Decree No 184/1974 on the hard currency premium in effect in the purchase and sale of hard currencies for non-commercial operations]

[Text] Taking into consideration the significant price increases and the inflationary processes which have taken place recently on foreign markets and in light of the fact that prices have remained stable in the Socialist Republic of Romania, it has been necessary to modify the hard currency premium in effect for official currency exchanges carried out by foreigners for tourism and other non-commercial operations.

Periodically, in accordance with changes which have taken place on foreign markets, this premium will be increased or decreased correspondingly.

In light of the above,

The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article 1 -- The hard currency premium in effect for the purchase and sale of the currencies of non-socialist countries for non-commercial operations is set at 179.64 percent of the official exchange rate in lei.

In addition, a service tax will be applied in personal sales of the currencies mentioned to Romanian citizens.

Article 2 -- Persons with permanent residence in the non-socialist countries who come to the Socialist Republic of Romania are obliged to exchange a sum of at least 10 U.S. dollars per person for each day they stay in the country, or the equivalent of this sum in other hard currencies acceptable to the National Bank of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

The provisions of Paragraph 1 do not apply to:

a) persons of Romanian origin who have foreign citizenship or who are stateless;

b) persons with Romanian citizenship residing abroad who have valid Romanian passports;

c) persons living abroad who do not have valid Romanian passports but have not renounced their Romanian citizenship;

d) the parents, spouses and children of the persons specified in letters a) - c).

In exceptional cases, the Ministry of Finance or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or the Ministry of the Interior will be able to approve an exemption from the obligation specified in paragraph 1 for other persons of Romanian origin with permanent residence in non-socialist countries.

Article 3 -- In the execution of the provisions of Article 2 of the present decree, the Ministry of Finance, together with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry of Tourism, the National Bank of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Romanian Foreign Trade Bank will prepare a list of persons to whom the provisions of this article apply.

Article 4 -- The hard currency premium stipulated in Article 1 paragraph 1 is in effect for the non-commercial operations specified in the attachment to the present decree. [Footnote: The attachment has been transmitted to the institutions concerned.]

Article 5 -- The provisions of Article I go into effect beginning 2 October 1974. [Footnote: With the exception of paragraph 1, which, according to Article II of Decree No. 455/1982, goes into effect as of 29 December 1982.]

The provisions of Article 2, paragraph 1, and Article 3 go into effect beginning 1 November 1974.

Article 6 -- The provisions of Article I also apply in relations with the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. [Footnote: The provisions of Article 6, as amended by Decree No 89/1978, are in effect as of 6 March 1978.]

Footnote: Republication on the basis of Article III of Decree No 455 of 28 December 1982, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL, Part I No 118 of 30 December 1982. Decree No 184/1974 was published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No 120 of 2 October 1974 and was republished in BULETINUL OFICIAL No 96 of 9 November 1976 and BULETINUL OFICIAL No 12 of 25 February 1981.

CSO: 2700/119

HEALTH CARE FOR ISOLATED GROUPS OF SOLDIERS IN ALL-PEOPLE'S WAR

Bucharest REVISTA SANITARA MILITARA in Romanian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 82 pp 263-267

[Article by medical Col Dr Vladimir Vintonic: "Aspects of Sanitary-Hygienic and Antiepidemic Medical Care for Isolated Groups of Soldiers Under the Conditions of an All-People's War for the Defense of the Country"]

[Text] Under the conditions of the all-people's war to defend the country, the medical service has the task of ensuring also good sanitary-hygienic and antiepidemic conditions for isolated groups of soldiers who must carry out actions in different and difficult means of combat: ambush, raids, reconnaissance and intelligence actions and so forth.

There is stress placed on self-administered first aid and mutual assistance, the use of certain simple means to treat wounds and the prevention of illnesses, as well as on the use of methods to disinfect and remove insects, methods that are frequently improvised, but available from the resources existing in the area.

Special attention must be given to water supplies, equipment cleanliness and food supplies.

In the case of the lack of normal medicines, medicinal plants can be successfully used in cases of fever, gastrointestinal problems, treatment for wounds and so forth.

Military Hygiene - Medicine on the Campaign

The all-people's war for the defense of the country requires a special concentration of human efforts for the purpose of fulfilling combat missions and a judicious use of all material resources available to the troops, as well as other possibilities and resources existing in the region.

Isolated groups of soldiers can operate through different combat modes: ambushes, raids and reconnaissance and intelligence actions behind the enemy's combat lines.

Under these situations, medical, sanitary-hygiene and antiepidemic care present certain characteristics:

- medical care is comprised of the application of self-administered first aid and mutual assistance;

- wounded or ill people are carried by other military personnel using the resources that they have until they reach their own troops' lines or until they turn them over to the populace in the region;

- during the carrying out of combat missions, there is a priority use of simple techniques and means employed in popular medicine in the treatment of wounds or the prevention of different illnesses;

- in applying prophylactic measures methods and means are used to disinfect and remove insects that are frequently improvised, as well as procedures and possibilities that are offered by sources and resources existing in the region;

- materials of all categories, including those to be used in giving first aid, must be carried by each military person and be limited in quantities, with weapons and munitions having priority;

- understanding and using the means and materials in the area or in the surrounding evironment.

Carrying out combat missions requires preserving one's health and, under special conditions, the need to survive.

The provision of drinking water under such combat conditions is one of the especially important problems for maintaining one's health and ability to fight.

Within the framework of a mission, each soldier must be capable of being able to resolve the drinking water problem for himself and for his comrades in his group. To this end, it is necessary to know and respect the hygiene regulations for water supplies that will protect the soldiers against contagious waterborne diseases or S.T.L. and S.R.L. [expansions unknown].

The quality of the water can be influenced by the death rate because of infectious diseases that enter the gastrointestinal tract and that originate among the ranks of the civil population or dislocated troops in the area of the water source, by epizootic factors that evolve in the region among the domestic or wild animals (especially rodents) and by the sanitary-hygiene status of the populace and the means of removing and disinfecting excrement and waste residue.

The soldier will have to learn from the local residents and discover possible cources of water pollution: garbage piles, outhouses, garbage dumps, places where animals are slaughtered, human or animal grave sites, places where people and animals wash, and bathhouses.

By carefully examining the surface of the water and transporting it, one can determine any eventual contamination with toxic substances, the existence of certain oily spots, the existence of sediments and so forth. Similarly, it is necessary to check circumstances in order to observe possible objects that could show efforts to voluntarily infect the water or traces of poisoning. Of great importance is the information obtained from the populace or from observing the populace with regards to these water sources (whether the populace uses the water or not).

In general, flowing sources of water and springs are more difficult to contaminate with S.R.L. or S.T.L., but there is the risk of the water being contaminated by its passing over strata of soils that contain organic substances.

The soldier must know how to carry out an organoleptic check of drinking water, checking its clarity, color, taste and odor. Cloudy water, because of mineral sustances that are normally contained in excessive amounts, is not always dangerous, but organic substances in the water can produce poisoning. An opalescent water, one lacking sediment, should be reason for suspicion, as should be a noticeable odor after heating the water to 80-90 degrees (very close to the boiling point). This suggests the use of certain toxic substances (the odor of horse radish, mustard and so forth). A metallic or bitter taste in the water shows its contamination with metallic salts, toxic substances or alkaloids.

In cases where the normal existing sources of water cannot be used in the region, one must resort to improvised means: troughs or barrels that are placed on the banks of rivers or, in the case of using certain low springs, carefully cleaning the area around the spring and placing a trough or barrel from which to take the water.

Military equipment is made from resistant materials and is adequate for each season of the year.

In the case of small groups of soldiers who carry out their combat actions over a longer period of time, one must keep in mind the changing or washing of underclothing at intervals of 6 to 10 days. After 6 days, underclothing accumulates dirt at a rate of up to five percent of its weight and after 10 days up to 11 percent. Foreign substances in the dirt decrease the clothing's permeability to air by clogging pores, diminish the physical properties of the equipment, block perspiration, decrease ventilation and favor the appearance of skin diseases. Therefore, it is necessary to daily shake out the clothing and equipment in order to eliminate dust and to wash underclothing with hot water, soap and lye so as to get rid of the dirt embedded in the fabrics.

Footwear must match the size of the feet and during winter measures must be taken to prevent frostbite (using felt and socks and leggings made of cotton or wool).

It is necessary for the military personnel to have with them concentrated foodstuffs, greens, vegetables and dehydrated fruits and foods rich in calories (fats), as well as foods that supply an immediate source of calories (glucides), for example, candy and sugar.

When the situation requires it, the food will consist of canned goods and biscuits.

Food supplies will be carried by the soldiers, with these being supplemented by others taken from safe sources (from the populace or from depots prepared ahead of time). During transportation, the food will be sealed in bags or plastic sacks and to the degree possible closed water-tight and packed in daily-ration amounts.

In order to supplement amounts of vitamin C, having such an important role in healing wounds, in healing fractures by keeping calcium in the bones, in increasing the general resistance of the body to infections and in taking part in the metabolism of the principal foods, during fall, winter and spring because of the lack of vitamin C in canned foods the soldiers will resort to obtaining concentrates of the vitamin from cone-bearing trees - pine needles are preferable to those from fir trees, which have a bitter taste. The soldiers will select the older needles, which contain great amounts of vitamin C. One thing especially important to stress is the fact that vitamin C from cone-bearing trees is found in the greatest amounts during the months of November to March, precisely when it exists in the smallest amounts in foodstuffs.

Vitamin C can also be prepared from leaves from the linden tree, birch tree, lucerne and clover. The substance that is produced can be immediately consumed or can be preserve for from 24 to 48 hours in wood, glass or enameled containers. In their dry state, goods generally lose their vitamin C, with the exception of berries or dried apricots, as well as certain wild plants such as daffodil petals. Similarly, dried tomatoes fully retain their vitamins. Meat that is salted and cut ahead of time into small pieces of 20-25 grams can be put up to dry in 3 to 4 hours, and fish can be desalted in 10 to 12 hours, after which it can be cut into thin filets of 10-15 grams. If the salted foods (after they have been cut into small pieces) are boiled for 1-2 hours, the salt content can be reduced by 50 percent after each removal from the water.

During missions, it is necessary to give the soldier at least 100 grams of protein each day (animal protein from meat, fish, beans and so forth).

Because of their active properties and therapeutic effects, plants can become a saving factor, being successfully used as substitutes and having effects similar to medicines, which sometimes are very difficult to procure.

Along these lines, each soldier will have to know how to identify and to use medicinal plants. Their processing requires a reduced amount of work and time using resources on-hand, with the most common form of use being via infusion (one to two spoonfuls of dried plant in 250 ml of boiling water) or concentrate (one to two spoonfuls of fried plant re boiled in 250 ml of water for 20-30 minutes).

Here are some of the more important plants that can be used in the treatment of certain more frequent illnesses:

In the treatment of wounds: closing wounds (ash tree, black poplar, St. John's wort); antiseptics (common burdock, mouse tail, walnut tree, common sage, roadweed); bactericide (wild strawberry, moss, Iceland moss, wild camomile); disinfectant (lavender, wormwood); blood coagulants (corn, willow tree).

For burns or frostbite, it is recommended to take a bath with oak bark or benedicta.

And, in the cause of infectious-contagious diseases, medicinal plants can be successfully used:

- to lower a fever by using thistles, willows or common sage;

- to ease pain using sweet calamus;

- acute infections of the upper respiratory tract can be treated with basil, couch grass or lungwort;

Acute diarrhea benefits from treatment with bilberry, chickory, caraway, mulberry, horsemint, wild rose and blackberry bush;

- convulsive coughing can be treated with blackthorn and eryngo.

Similarly, intestinal worms are treated with bilberry, anise, thistles, wild rose, wormwood and soap wort.

Soldiers must be instructed in the problems of hygiene-sanitary care in order to be able to take the most adequate measures to disinfect and remove insects using simple substances and devices that are easily procured and transported.

For disinfection, burning will be used, especially when we are talking about objects of little value or that are degraded (books, straw, matresses, rejected items and contaminated organic items). Waste materials will first be absorbed by sawdust or peat and will be mixed with petroleum residues, after which they will be burned.

Small surgical instuments (scalpels, clamps) are especially disinfected via flame sterilization. Plates and dishes can also be disinfected via flame disinfection.

The most used method of disinfection is boiling water and washing lye for 30 minutes. In this way, the soldiers can carry out the disinfection of clothing, bedding, hankerchiefs, dishes and utensiles. By adding sodium chloride (table salt) or calcium chloride, the boiling point can be increased to 109 degrees C and 117 degrees C, respectively. Boiling in this manner for 30 minutes destroys the majority of pathogenic germs and if the boiling is extended to 90 minutes it will also destroy sporulation germs (anthrax).

The disinfection of underclothing can be done with a pressing iron; by using an iron temperatures of 160-170 degrees C can be attained.

The chemical substances most often used in disinfection are caustic soda, sodium hydroxide in a solution of two to four percent and ethylic alcohol (medicinal spirits of 70 proof alcohol).

Since it is possible that incendiary devices will be broadly used, small groups of soldiers will be obligatorily supplied with sufficient quantities of compresses and dressings. Lacking these, they will use improvised dressings that can be used after sterilization by way of accessible methods.

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8724
CSO: 2700/106

TREATMENT OF SEVERELY WOUNDED IN WAR TIME

Bucharest REVISTA SANITARA MILITARA in Romanian No 3 Jul-Aug-Sep 82 pp 269-277

[Article by professor Dr Maj Gen Alexandru Gr. Popescu, doctor emeritus and corresponding member of the Academy of Medical Sciences, professor Dr docent Maj Gen Gheorghe Niculescu, doctor Col Dumitru Baciu - doctor of medicine, and Dr Lt Col Silviu Diaconescu: "Problems of Medical Logistics in the Treatment of Multiple Trauma Under Catastrophic Conditions"]

[Text] Under conditions of a relative catastrophe (earthquakes, railroad accidents, massive highway accidents and so forth), problems of medical logistics must be in the center of health units' attention for the purpose of concentrating all medical personnel and resources within an optimum timeframe at the place of maximum human losses so as to save the largest possible number of people with multiple traumas.

The authors of this article stress the need to create certain medical intervention groups based on the following objectives:

- the creation of a command during a period of peace and quiet that has a trained leadership and that will be ready to operate under such conditions;

- the formation of teams trained in actions to save people with multiple traumas;

- the equipping of these groups with equipment adapted to real catastrophe situations that can be used immediately and under any circumstances;

- the existence of certain intervention plans and medical activities plans that are well-defined and adaptable to various situations.

Recognizing the fact that there is a clear difference between therapeutic requirements and the technical-material possibilities, the authors discuss different achievements at the local, national and international levels.

Military Medicine: Treatment, Trauma

Because of the use of new, sophisticated means of human destruction, including nuclear weapons, modern war requires the organization of therapeutic activities for the purpose of saving the largest possible number of wounded people. In reference to this aspect, the term medical logistics is used, which involves the concentration of medical personnel and resources within an optimum timeframe in order to save the largest possible number of people with multiple traumas.

Modern warfare is characterized by the following specific features:

- the broad, destructive scope of the effects of the new extremely sophisticated weapons;

- the combination of ballistic effects with those of the other weapons of mass destruction;

- massive human losses concentrated in time and in a limited space;

- disorganization over a large territory in both the administrative and health networks.

As a result, a true contradiction is created between therapeutic requirements and the technical-material possibilities. This contradiction is characterized by:

- the impossibility of giving effective treatment to all the injured people as quickly as possible and at the most adequate level according to the nature of the injury;

- the scarcity of evacuation resources and qualified and specialized medical teams;

- the psychological climate of panic encountered among the injured, the civilian population and even the medical-health personnel.

During the course of a catastrophe, one can distinguish the following periods:

Period I: the phase of impact between the stressful forces and the human body, during which the majority of tissue injuries occur. This is, in fact, the shortest period.

Period II: the phase that calls for adopting extremely urgent therapeutic measures in order to ensure the survival of the persons with multiple traumas.

Period III: the longest lasting phase that involves all the organizational, medical, social and economic measures that are to be taken for the purpose of reestablishing normal working conditions in the territory.

In referring to highway accidents, whose seriousness and complexity are similar to the traumas during war time, R. Merle d'Aubigne pointed out that serious multiple traumas are characterized by:

- multiple injuries brought about either because of the total number of certain varied etiologies (burns from gasoline fire and multiple traumas following the overturning of vehicles) or because of a single etiology that nonetheless causes different types of injuries in multiple locations (multiple fractures and diverse traumas);

- the need for an extremely urgent group of therapeutic measures to re-establish vital functions, especially cardio-respiratory functions;

- a serious prognosis, with a great potential for an evolutive deterioration brought about be the association of the local factor with a general morpho-functional impact.

The large number of multiple traumas noted on the occasion of multiple catastrophes that have taken place in different countries has shown, on one hand, the poor theoretical and practical training of medical personnel in dealing with these special situations while, on the other hand, important deficiencies in the system of organizing alert notification and technical equipment in the medical groups. Additionally, there was found to be a shortage of qualified and specialized medical personnel, of technical-health materials and of hospital space, a fact which created a significant gap between the required amounts and the possibilities at the local and, frequently, national levels.

For that reason, medical intervention in absolute and relative catastrophes must be carried out with a maximum of urgency, especially with regards to resolving the first two stages previously described.

In order to overcome this impasse, in the majority of countries studies have been done with the purpose of creating certain medical intervention groups based on the following principles:

a) the creation of a command during a period of peace and quiet that has a trained leadership that will be in a position to operate under such conditions;

b) the creation of teams trained in the actions to save victims;

c) the provision of equipment adapted to disaster situations that can be used immediately and under any conditions;

d) the existence of certain scenarios of well-defined medical actions that are adaptable to various situations.

On the basis of his personal experiences and keeping these requirements in mind, M. B. Jennings reaches the conclusion that only within the framework of the army's medical service can all these requirements be met.

The volume and scope of measures for triage, evacuation and pre-medical and medical assistance require the continuing knowledge of the existing situation at the place of the catastrophe. The number of initial and later losses depends upon the degree and quality of partial or total therapeutic resolution of injuries at the level of each stage.

The enormous number of multiple traumas requires special organizational measures. We feel that medical statistics must be given special attention. They must be modernized through the introduction of computers.

In order to carry out the automatic processing of statistical data it is necessary for the injury report to be filled out in such a way so that it can be transposed into punch cards. It must provide a minimum amount of useful data, such as: pulse rate, blood pressure, breathing rates, neurological signs, injury status and the treatment given, as noted each hour. It must also show certain special types of care, such as artificial respiration, cardiac massage, oxygen therapy, surgery and so forth.

The purpose of medical logistics is that of adapting to specially described situations. In this regard, numerous efforts have been made in the majority of countries at the local, national and international levels, obtaining remarkable accomplishments to which we will refer later.

Logistical Accomplishments at the Local Level

Within the framework of these accomplishments are: the organization of first aid teams, the organization of local and regional hospital groups, the creation of triage and evacuation hospitals and so forth.

a. The organization of "first aid teams" right from the period of peace and quiet. These will be of a multispecialized nature, with the purpose of ensuring:

- the perfect adaptation of the volume of medical activities to the intensity of the critical period;

- the logical blending of actions to find and quickly remove the injured while carrying out an initial injury evaluation and extremely urgent treatment;

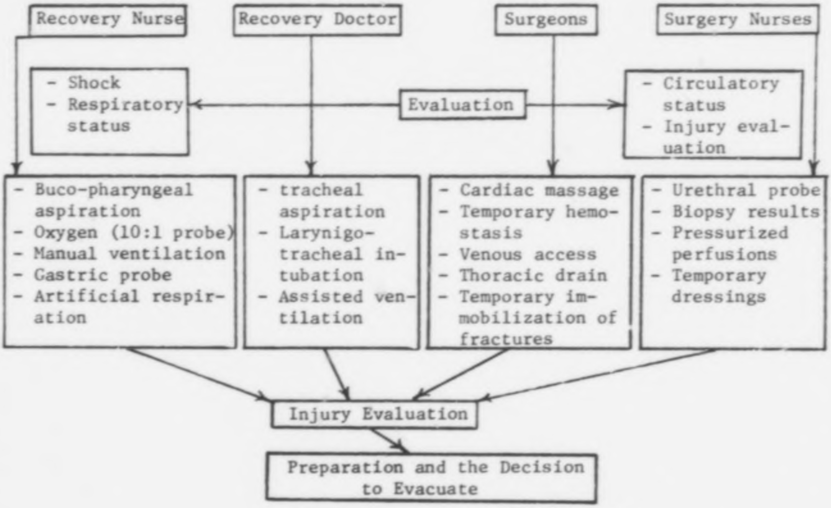
- the elimination of any errors through extended training;

- the provision of the entire amount of material necessary for intervention, placed in kits that have been prepared in advance.

Such a team will be composed of doctors (surgeons and recovery personnel), nurses (in surgery and recovery) and care personnel.

We present here the organization of a first aid team, according to R. Stopa and his collaborators (see Figure No 1).

Figure No 1


Recovery Nurse
Recovery Doctor
Surgeons
Surgery Nurses
- Shock
- Respiratory status
Evaluation
- Circulatory status
- Injury evaluation
- Buco-pharyngeal aspiration
- Oxygen (10:1 probe)
- Manual ventilation
- Gastric probe
- Artificial respiration
- tracheal aspiration
- Larynigo-tracheal intubation
- Assisted ventilation
- Cardiac massage
- Temporary hemostasis
- Venous access
- Thoracic drain
- Temporary immobilization of fractures
- Urethral probe
- Biopsy results
- Pressurized perfusions
- Temporary dressings
Injury Evaluation
Preparation and the Decision to Evacuate

b. The organization of local or regional hospital groups for first aid. They are created for the purpose of adapting to the parameters of local catastrophes of a smaller nature. In their organization there is a blending of the efforts of the specialized medical groups with those of the army's evacuation groups, those of the civilian medical network and those of the police and firefighters.

In many countries such groups have been already operating for a number of years. Among the best organized groups are those in Paris, created by professor M. Cara in 1955, the one in Amiens, created in 1971 and headed by professor F. Bernard and D. Roger, and the one in Ulm dating from 1971 that was set up alongside the Ulm Military Hospital. In recent years, similar medical groups have been developed alongside military hospitals in five centers in West Germany.

These groups contain emergency teams that go to the scene of the accident in order to apply the first triage measures and first aid.

Normally, the basic group sends out a scout to the scene of the accident that contains a reduced amount of materials and personnel in accordance with the information that was received in the notification. After studying the situation at the scene of the catastrophe, it is capable of notifying the medical groups and security forces so as to bring to the scene of the catastrophe in the shortest possible time special anesthesia and recovery vehicles, equipped, as the case may be, with a doctor and a nurse or a number of doctors, nurses and even interns for the purpose of saving the large number of persons with multiple traumas.

c. The creation of a triage and evacuation hospital. This hospital, with a special role during war time, is a group designed to gather together all the injured and sick people from the advanced stages along a certain area of the front. Here, after a detailed medical-surgical triage and the application of the first emergency measures, the injured are directed towards the hospital groups that are capable of giving them specialized care. The patient is transferred to the Front Hospital Base, being a group logically placed between the advanced medical groups and those in the Front Hospital Base and the interior region.

Logistical Accomplishments at the National Level

At the national level, it is necessary to organize the civilian protection with the creation of vehicle-carried or parachuted surgical scout groups.

a. The organization of Civilian Protection. The medical service of civil defense, organized during peacetime, can be used at the national level in case of war or catastrophe. Its principal objectives are:

- the reduction of the death rate and the maximum recovery of victims;

- the prevention of the appearance and spread among the people in the region of certain potential infectious-contagious diseases during Stage I and Stage III of the catastrophe.

Its intervention in the area of destruction is achieved through the closeness and gradually introduction of certain groups of emergency medical assistance into the region. First aid is given by the health groups and medical care is given by the medical groups of the civil defense. In France, for example, each year there is training and accrediting of one million rescuers, of which 300,000 are contained in groups having real, continuing activities.

In 1972, Civilian Protection in France, subordinate to the Ministry of the Interior, was equipped with 2,000 light ambulances, 1,500 VSAB's [expansion unknown] and 22 helicopters.

In several cases of catastrophes, these groups constituted the first stage of medical evacuation.

The medical service of Civil Defense must permanently cooperate with that of the Armed Forces, both during catastrophes and in war time.

b. The parachuted surgical scout teams. This was created for the purpose of intervening in isolated areas in the rest of the country effected by catastrophes and significant medical losses.

The initial idea belonged to Tonkin, who in 1949 created the first parachuted surgical scout team for the purpose of supporting the actions of airborne combat groups for which evacuation was impossible for a number of days. It was composed of two surgeons and 13 corpsmen. These personnel were parachuted in with two tons of medical materials. Additionally, two or three corpsmen were assigned as auxiliary personnel for each team that was parachuted in.

During the period between combat actions, the personnel of the team carried out their surgical activities and training in an emergency trauma section. The materials are cleaned daily and prepared for paradrop. Bottles of blood and oxygen tanks are also prepared daily.

It is estimated that the time for the alert will not exceed 2-3 hours for a mission that will last 3-6 days. The evacuation of persons with multiple traumas in very serious condition is provided by two helicopters.

On the principle of the paradropped team, independent surgical groups were created that would operate in the case of a catastrophe, capable of being transported via sea or land routes that are still useable.

In the Romanian army, we created a vehicle-transported surgical group composed of two special vehicles (mobile operating room and a mobile sterlization vehicle) and vehicle-carried tents for pre-operation and post-operation hospitalization that are equipped with medical-health personnel and health and support materials needed for an independent action of 3-4 days in the area of the catastrophe.

The staffing of the groups with a resuscitation-anesthesia specialist, surgeons, anesthesia-recovery nurses and surgical nurses ensures the rapid and corrent triage of the wounded, the quick application of resuscitation measures and a complex surgical treatment that will ensure that the medical transport will take place under conditions of complete safety.

Similar to the above-mentioned surgical teams, in France they created an emergency medical care service (EMCS) and in the United States "the MAST Plan."

c. The Emergency Medical Care Service (EMCS). This represented the final stage of a number of efforts to organize a logical system for medical care in the event of accidents and catastrophes during peacetime. Similar concerns existed even in the past centuries. Thus, in France in 1770, Turgot proposed the creation of an emergency center, and in 1797 Larrey organized an emergency service in the imperial French army that included ambulances, health offices and mobile and fixed hospitals. Just in 1945 they organized a rescue service alongside the police in Paris, and in 1957 the first emergency rescue service. Starting in 1960, similar EMCS were created in different centers in France.

Under conditions of a catastrophe, the EMCS organizes a mobile emergency and resuscitation service (MERS) that can find and diagnose under emergency conditions those persons with multiple injuries and, at the same time, prepare them and transport them from the scene of the catastrophe to the hospital.

The activities of the EMCS are well-defined right from peacetime. The use of this therapeutic group in the case single accidents, but repeated accidents, constitutes an important means of training for operating within the framework of a relative or absolute catastrophe.

d. In the United States "the MAST Plan" has been organized, which, likewise, constituted an important step forward for providing useful medical assistance to those persons injured as a result of highway accidents or catastrophes and to those persons with other etiologies.

This plan brings together three departments: transportation, health and protection.

In order to transport the people with multiple traumas, military helicopters and ambulances are used. This plan also demonstrated its usefulness in the encephalomelitis epidemic (1972) in the United States, permitting rapid, mass vaccination.

Especially useful in saving the lives of people is educating the entire populace, thus transforming the populace into an army of rescuers.

e. As a result of applying these logistics in helping the wounded during war time, the "First Logistical Command" (COMLOG) was created. It is a military medical organization that is involved in organizing and supporting the maneuver forces from a technical point of view. It is at the disposal of the army chief of staff for ground forces and it was given the following tasks:

- it is responsible for the primary evacuation via railroad, air and, eventually, highway, beginning with the embarkation points for the railroad, air and highway routes located in the logistical groups of the army corps and ending with the leading points of the end destinations;

- it is responsible for the overall medical evacuation of the injured persons treated in the logistical groups of the army corps and in the hospitals in the contact region.

Logistical Accomplishments on the International Level

In recent times, numerous accomplishments have been made in this area, and we will mention some of the more significant ones:

a) The International Center for Intervention in the Case of a Catastrophe.

After the great natural catastrophes in Peru and eastern Pakistan, the conclusion was reached that the local, regional and even national rescue organizations were overwhelmed in trying to save the lives of the injured people. For that reason, a proposal was made to create a National Catastrophe Committee that would direct all the human forces and material and technical resources used in rescue efforts.

This committee sometimes needs substantial international assistance.

For this reason, the International Center for Catastrophes was created, with its headquarters at Geneva and having three regional centers for the three parts of the world. Their headquarters operate in Singapore, Mexico and Rome.

Within each staff, the following sections exist: medical, logistical, technical, telecommunications, reconstruction and information.

In the event of a catastrophe, emergency teams of experts will be sent out that will evaluate the local medical situation during the first 24 hours from the time of the catastrophe.

These experts remain at the scene in order to maintain continuous links, on one hand, with the international center for catastrophes and the national center and, on the other hand, with the national center and the local rescue centers.

The actions of these international groups are carried out during stage II and III of the catastrophe.

b). In France, a group was created called the "Rapid Medical Intervention Unit (RMIU) for the purpose of intervening over some distance at the scene of a catastrophe with an adequate amount of personnel and materials. It is a medical group of the army, created in 1964, that is air-transportable and relatively autonomous.

It is transported via a twin-jet aircraft with a range of 4,000 km, with a capacity of eight to ten tons. This group has already operated in Peru and Jordan during the summer and fall of 1970, at Libreville (Biafra) and in eastern Pakistan in 1970, and in Chad in 1971 during a cholera epidemic.

It was created in order to ensure the rigorous triage of the wounded and ill and the rapid primary evacuation of them over great distances, having the following missions:

- to ensure the surgical triage of the wounded;

- to stop shock and stabilize the wounded, thus creating favorable conditions for evacuation;

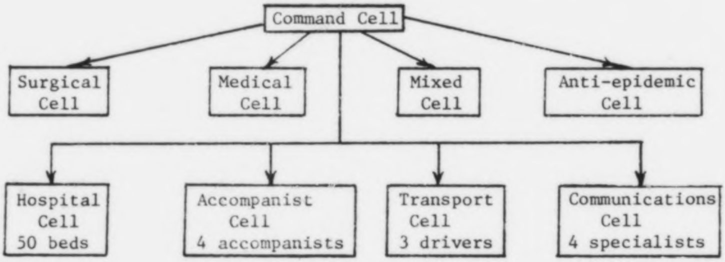
- to carry out extremely urgent surgical intervention;

- to institute the first treatment in serious medical cases;

- to provide the eventual supervision of the wounded during transportation.

It is composed of autonomous cells, according to the diagram below (Figure No 2).

Figure No 2



Command Cell
Surgical Cell
Medical Cell
Mixed Cell
Anti-epidemic Cell
Hospital Cell 50 beds
Accompanist Cell 4 accompanists
Transport Cell 3 drivers
Communications Cell 4 specialists

In accordance with the type of injuries or the nature of the illnesses, they determine the make-up and number of cells that will be sent out to the region of the catastrophe.

In at the most 24 hours from the time of learning of the nature of the catastrophe, an RMIU group is already in action. The RMIU has full autonomy and carries out the medical evacuation with the help:

- of helicopters for bringing the people in close;

- of aircraft of different types for the rapid evacuation of the wounded over great distances.

In this manner, on one hand they avoid overloading the RMIU group and, on the other hand, ensure the logistical support for the medical-surgical teams.

The clear results is that the RMIU is an extremely useful medical group, capable of being used on an international scale in the case of a catastrophe and having precise tasks for triage, treatment, hospitalization and the evacuation of the wounded and sick. Thus, it is a veritable "autonomous unit for humanitarian intervention" in the case of a catastrophe.

This article received at the editorial staff on 20 June 1982.

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ROMANIA

HEALTH EDUCATION IN MILITARY SPHERE

Bucharest REVISTA SANITARA MILITARA in Romanian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 82 pp 279-286

[Article by doctor Maj Gen Dr Florian Vlad, doctor Lt Col Dr Gheorghe Cringulescu and doctor Col Dr Marcel Mahailescu: "Health Education in the Promotion of Personnel Health in the Army"]

[Text] Medicine is currently confronted with unusual problems that were not foreseeable a generation ago. Under these conditions, preventative medicine has important tasks, and the promotion of health through health education represents a requirement of the current stage of development in contemporary society.

On the basis of the directives of the health policy of our party and state and within the overall educational-health actions in the army, a greater part will be played by those manifestations referring to the medicine of the healthy person and corresponding to a unified sani-genetic and prophylactic concept.

The plan for the health education of the personnel in the army during the period 1981-1985 constitutes the essence of the objectives and tasks, upon which the troops' state of health depends. Its achievement is directly influenced by the involvement of the medical corps in modelling individual and collective hygienic behavior.

Health Education, Prophylaxis, Health

During this stage of great revolutionary transformations and as a result of the wise policy of the Romanian Communist Party, there has been an increase in the quality of life for all the people and, along with this, there has been a radical improvement in the people's state of health in our country.

Corresponding to the humanism of socialist society itself, in which man represents the basic factor, the fundamental problems of public health in Romania, as contained in the country's Program for Economic-Social Development, give first priority to the medicine of the healthy person, with health education being an eseential component and an element of primary significance in the group of measures taken by the party in the field of health care (see bibliography references Nos 2, 1, 3).

In accordance with the scope and dynamics with which social progress and science and technology are working in all the fields of human activities, there are also changes being made to the concepts regarding the state of health and illnesses, hygienic customs and practices, and the people's health culture itslef, as expressed in behavior towards health and in the awareness and responsibility towards the requirements of promoting and taking care of individual and collective health (5). As a result, health culture must be constantly adapted to the transformations that are taking place in the material and cultural affairs in society.

In the first decades of the 19th century, the first Romanian publications appeared popularizing scientific medical knowledge. In 1824 in Bucharest, a documented and attractive work was published regarding "Means and Cures for Protection Against the Plague, Compiled and Completed for the Help and Use of the Romanian People." Constantin Virnav published the paper "The Guide to Health and Economy" (1844-1845), in 1848 he published the brochure "Regarding Epidemic Cholera," and in 1872 "Regarding Asian Cholera." These publications deserve to mark the beginning of health education literature in our country. After these, various other brochures or pamphlets referring to combatting epidemics, to first aid in the case of accidents, to anti-smallpox vaccinations, to the venerean danger, to the use of a healthy diet and so forth, appeared in Romanian in Sibiu, Cluj, Buda and Bucharest (4).

A significant contribution was made by the students of "the Davila School," many of them coming from the most modest social categories (peasants and poor city people) in establishing the traditions of social medicine.

It is worth noting the fact that in the second half of the last century, marked by an increase in the ranks of the proletariat, doctors provided an important contingent of militants who combined the revolutionary political struggle with the one on the medical-health level. In this regard, the following especially distinguished themselves: Stefan Stinca, C. Popescu-Azuga, Calin-Ottoi and Ecaterina Arbore. A series of great figures in Romanian medical science, such as I. Felix, V. Babes, Gh. Marinescu, I. Cantacuzino and C. I. Parhon, was involved in popularizing prophylactic measures and initiated actions of an educational-health nature, holding conferences for workers and writing brochures on health propaganda (11). In 1937, the renown Romanian scholar of international repute, Nicolae Iorga, wrote: "Health education alone would do more than all the hospitals together."

Under the new conditions of the socialist system and in accordance with the major goals and requirements of socialist society, which places man as the supreme social value, the Romanian Communist Party has raised the problem of public health care to the level of state policy, placing it among the basic objectives of the program of building a new society.

As a result, the popularizing of medical knowledge has acquired a broad spread and a strictly scientific theme. The efficiency of health education has been demonstrated both in prophylactic activities and in those for combatting transmitable diseases. The great campaigns against exanthematic typhus and recurring fever and the eradication of malaria would not have been possible without a broad dissemination of information and without the knowing participation of the masses in such an activity in our country (11).

Since medicine is currently confronted with spectacular problems that one generation ago were unforeseeable (7), the promotion of health through health education represents a necessity in the current stage of development in contemporary society. The renown World Health Organization noted that as "the most effective weapon of public health" health education constitutes a true art for healthy living, the art of building health, and a factor for completing human society.

In accordance with the definition given by the WHO, health is "a condition of complete, good physical, mental and social being and not just the absence of diseases or infirmities" (8, 9). The result is that the promotion of health through health education must be understood and applied as a continuing process. Health education and the promotion of health is in a unified dialectical state and is mutually influencing. Under this relationship, there is mutual recognition and operation between the sani-genetic function and the prophylactic function through which health education is described as a component of the medicine of healthy people, acheiving:

- the systematic information to the people and the cultivation of a mass opinion in favor of prophylactic measures;

- the creation and development of certain hygienic habits and customs;

- the stimilation of initiatives and the involvement and organization of groups for participating in health culturization activities.

Prevention requires an active modeling of behavior regarding risk factors. Environmental pollution, information overload, growing super-demands on the neuro-psychological sphere and separation from natural rhythms are merely some of the inherent factors of contemporary life with consequences for health.

The broad studies that have been carried out in Romania and in other countries have found that, for example, if collective measures are accepted for protecting the environment, the same individuals ignore any measure that requires a personal effort and individual discipline.

In a study carried out among the ranks of personnel in units in different branches of the service, using a standard research method based on the use of questionnaires and free conversations with individuals and groups and followed by observations of behaviorial attitudes compared to the written response or the verbal statement, we found that an important percent was represented by those who had a correct idea in accordance with the preventative orientation of the medicine of the healthy person.

Thus, 92 percent of those studied know about and are interested in the concerns of medicine for a rational diet, the research into the dangerous effects of tobacco and the value to one's health for participating in sports, being at the same time in agreement with the body's need for a rational diet, for combating tobacco abuse as a danger to one's health and for combatting a sedentary life. This percentage is 10 percent higher than the level shown in the studies regarding the health culture of the populace in Romania (5).

The current stage represents a special gain, the result of a constantly positive evolution of the level of health culture of this important category of personnel in the army, to which military doctors have made a significant contribution. It must, however, be noted that there still are a few persons who make individual efforts to renounce this and use practices contrary to the promotion of health, trying to keep current Democritus' statement: "People in their prayers ask for good health from God without knowing that they have the means for their own protection in their own hands." This is so because of the fact that they are not sufficiently concerned about their own health. This person frequently acts against his own convictions and interests.

In our study, for example, 86.2 percent of smokers and non-smokers recognize the dangerous aspect of smoking, but only 10 percent gave up their habit of smoking (2 percent more than 10 years ago and 8 percent in the last 10 years), joining the 32 percent non-smokers. The active smokers remain, nonetheless, at 58 percent. It is also important to note the fact that 3.4 percent do not recognize smoking as dangerous, 6 percent "are not informed" and 4.4 percent are not interested in this "problem," being non-smokers, with all these being a category that can slow the instructional-educational effort.

Another category of results shows that dietary preferences are assured at the rate of 100 percent, while 50 percent of the subjects have a body weight over the ideal limit.

The last result regarding body weight is not satisfactory from a sani-genetic point of view, being the result of a "preferential," but not balanced diet based on a growing consumption of animal fats, bread and sweets. Thus, 64 percent frequently consume alot of animal fat, 53 percent too much bread and 24 percent a great deal of sweets (the majority of those in the overweight category).

An important component of this result, as this false "positive" fact can be seen, is the fact that 73 percent of those studied did not have a personal program for maintaining their physical condition and appearance, placing stress on the intellectual effort, an effort inappropriately split for the specific nature of military personnel, which leads to a sedentary existence. Thus, 18 percent do not take part in sports and 55 percent take part only in those sports outlined by regulations. During free time, only 25 percent take walks for their positive effect upon the body's psychological and physical state.

The interest for the self-control on one's state of health is below the level of interest for understanding the current fundamental problems of medicine, expressed by the fact that 36 percent of the subjects did not know the normal levels for body weight and 66 percent did not know the normal values for blood pressure.

Young people in military service benefit from the conditions created by our party and state for being well-equipped, well-fed and well-instructed, conditions favorable to the achievement of a level of health culture that will give them a good state of physical and psychological health needed by the soldier under the conditions of modern warfare. It must be kept in mind, however, that these young people come in with insufficient health knowledge with regards to transmitable diseases, body hygiene and buco-dental care, a rational system of training and rest, the use of free time and some erroneous ideas and opinions, as well as with complex medical-social problems (5).

Under these conditions, the provisions of the Law regarding the provision of health to the people in the field of health education are of an especially current relevancy for the personnel in the army and directly contribute to the implementation of the Directives of the 12th RCP Congress and the Program of the RCP for creating a multilaterally developed socialist society and advancing Romania towards communism, documents which state that "stress will be placed on the organization of prophylactic actions to identify and prevent causes which negatively influence public health" (1).

In the discussions at the plenary session of the Political Council of the Medical Directorate, measures were established that are designed to raise educational-health activities to a higher level, keeping in mind the fact that in the army there is an adequate organizational framework that ensures including all personnel in a diversified system of training.

The health education plan for the personnel in the army for the period 1981-1985, which has become an order of the ministry of national defense, attests to the fact that the health of the troops constitutes a component part of the process of combat and political training for ensuring the country's defense capability and outlines the new objectives and tasks, including:

- increasing the level of health culture of military personnel and developing their responsibility for their own health and the group's health and for preserving their health and the physical and psychological well-being of the troops subordinate to them;

- creating and consolidating a hygiene behavior for all personnel in the army and directing them towards respect for a rational system of work, rest and diet;

- understanding and having all the personnel in the army know the army's tasks in the party and state decisions regarding environmental protection;

- preventing diseases and ensuring the medical recovery of persons who were ill in order to have their professional reintegration.

These objectives can be achieved through improving the integration of health education in the instructional-educational process in the army for the purpose of creating certain scientific concepts about health and diseases, and through developing mass prophylactic opinions. On the basis of the orientations of the health policy of our party and state, within the overall educational-health actions in the military commands, units and institutes involved in education activities concerning the medicine of the healthy person must play a greater role.

In order to carry this out, it is necessary to have the active participation of all the responsible authorities at all levels since no medical service can carry out its purpose and objectives efficiently without their support, with "health depending less upon regulations than upon an attitude of enlightened spirit" (18). Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out at the first Congress of Political Education and Socialist Culture: "We must be fully aware of the fact that the vast and complex creation of the new man, a master of the latest advances of science and human knowledge having a profound culture," requires "the creation of a broad popular movement in the field of education and culture." The minister of national defense's order regarding the health education plan for the personnel in the army gives the commanders and the party organizations in the units the full responsibility for the health of the personnel, thus giving them a broad opportunity for actions to achieve a level of health culture corresponding to the living conditions provided in the army and adapted to the ever more complex requirements of the process of military instruction. These personnel will have in the unit doctor the first and most interested counsellor in problems regarding health and the spokesman for the belief that "preventative measures are the most efficient means in maintain the health of the group" (I. Iacobovici, quoted in 7).

The medical personnel in the army, regardless of their place of work and specialty, have tasks of special importance. Thus, a fundamental task is that of coordinating actions and evaluating their efficiency, with the condition of their direct involvement in the active modeling of behavior concerning risks for the individual and collective health of the troops under their supervision. The consolidation of the advances to date, as well as the need to resolve certain problems concerning the new structure of the death rate, a characteristic of contemporary society, and concerning certain problems related to modern military technology, require the use of new methods, techniques and organizational forms equal to the current development of ethical attitudes and the social sense characteristic of the military doctor.

In selecting educational-health actions, we will have to keep in mind the fact that the essential condition for their effectiveness is basing them in the realities of life, with the orientation of the themes depending upon the objective needs of the group that is being addressed. We must also keep in mind the fact that through their existence the military groups are especially mobile while, as the environment where the actions are carried out changes, so do the surrounding medical conditions. We will not lose sight of the fact that the process of instructing the troops will be placed at a level of much greater requirements, a situation where the body will have to make constantly greater efforts in order to adapt to these requirements.

As a result, the forms of education must be convincing and based on scientific arguments, with examples that can be understood and taken from life and the activities of the military group, without exaggerations that will create contrary reactions.

The educational-health methods and means will be selected depending upon the goals pursued, the conditions within which the educational-health actions are carried out, the time available to these personnel and the interest for a certain problem. Whatever the methods and means might be, they must be of quality, keeping in mind that there must be specific possibilities for carrying out the recommended advice.

The oral presentation method, using a method that does not require special expenditures or budget to be carried out, is available to those who have tasks in promoting health through health education. It permits the maximum use of local (examples) materials, and it constitutes the basic component of the educational-health program. In the educational-health practices carried out in the military units and in the educational institutes, conferences or a series of conferences, educational-health symposia and educational-health meetings can be organized.

An attractive form of oral health education is "the question and answer hour" organized in subunits for a subject that is announced in advance.

Health education broadcasts from radio stations must constitute a permanent factor in informing military groups about aspects of current medical activities for the unit, with recordings on magnetic tape (or casettes) being of real use in health education. Health lectures and discussions are means that further and imprint knowledge, create correct motivations and convictions, and bring about sani-genetic attitudes and habits.

At the hospital level, the effectiveness of the best treatment can be noticeably decreased and even countered if the sick person does not carry out the doctor's recommedations. Individual discussions become especially useful for the sick person if there is stress on the type of life style, work and diet that must be followed after leaving the hospital. Frequently, for example, the directions recommended by the doctor are violated since the people do not understand the possibilities of the permitted diet. For that reason, the dietician nurse, in the doctor's presence, can instruct the patient through discussions how to prepare foods in the permitted food categories and tell the patient which foods can be eaten as they wish.

In order to increase the efficiency of the therapeutic measures that are presented to those people at the dispensaries and certain chronically ill put-patients (as is the case in ulcers, hypertension, hepato-kidney illnesses, diabetes, rheumatism, cardio-vascular diseases and so forth), group prophylactic consultations can be organized at the polyclinic level that has a significant role in creating convictions that a cure depends upon adhering to medical recommendations.

Written and published means can bring about a marked increase in interest for health on the condition that they are directed towards the specific problems of the health of the personnel in the army. The publication of certain articles having an educational-health content in the military press (APARAREA PATRIEI, VIATA MILITARA and LA DATORIE), as well as certain reports in REVISTA SANITARA MILITARA must be a permanent concern for each military doctor. Similarly, the writing of bulletin board health notices, posters, books, brochures, reports, displays and visual means (expositions, bulletins, pictures and slides) have a high degree of attractiveness.

Audiovisual means (educational-health films), when used appropriately, open broad opportunities for use, but as far as forming habits, research shows that it is necessary for the films to work concomitantly with other educational-health means, with films being much more difficult to produce and disseminate, with the great disadvantage that it can be presented to the same group only once.

In the military educational institutes, where the future cadre are created, health education must work in the future by pursuing the transformation of positive attitudes that are favorable to individual and group health in lasting convictions necessary for the promotion of health among the ranks of their future subordinates.

The education that began in school must be completed at the place of work in the unit, with the commander and the party organization bearing the entire responsibility for the continuity of the educational-health process.

Health education will also pursue understanding the role of sports as a component part of the quality of life and health of the personnel in the army. Similarly, it can also makes its contribution in the field of esthetic education, with artistic and natural values being appreciated, understood and sought out only by those who enjoy good health.

In conclusion, therefore, it is necessary to have a differentiated orientation for the content and methods of action depending upon the various problems of health and the living environment and specific activity of each unit and different branch of service, attitudes that constitute an efficient means for transforming health culture into an active component of the process of cultural development in accordance with the material progress of society and with the interests of strengthening the country's defense capabilities.

The entire medical corps in the army will have to carry out research regarding the relationship between health education and the process of adapting the human body to environmental factors, to the particular conditions of life and to the technology of modern warfare, with the results of these studies being expressed in the establishment of the most efficient methods and means that can help to effectively instill the habits and customs needed to promote the health of the personnel in the army of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

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8724
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PERSONNEL CHANGES IN GOVERNMENTAL COUNCILS, COMMISSIONS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 3, 17 Jan 83 p 2

[Presidential decree on removals from and appointments to positions of chairmen of councils and commissions subordinate to the council of ministers]

[Text] The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article 1 -- Comrade Gheorghe Oprea, first deputy prime minister of the government, is relieved of his position as chairman of the Council for the Coordination of the Development of the Energy Base and of the Operation of the National Energy System.

Article 2 -- Comrade Ion M. Nicolae, deputy prime minister of the government, is also appointed to the position of chairman of the Council for the Coordination of the Development of the Energy Base and of the Operation of the National Energy System.

Article 3 -- Comrade Gheorghe Petrescu, deputy prime minister of the government, is relieved of his position as chairman of the Governmental Commission for Economic and Technical Collaboration and Cooperation and as permanent representative of the Socialist Republic of Romania in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

Article 4 -- Comrade Ioan Totu, deputy prime minister of the government, is also appointed to the position of chairman of the Governmental Commission for Economic and Technical Collaboration and Cooperation and is designated permanent representative of the Socialist Republic of Romania in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and is also appointed chairman of the Governmental Commission for the Rationalization of the Records System in Socialist Units.

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU
President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 13 January 1983
No 12

CSO: 2700/119

NEED FOR 'REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT' IN FILMMAKING

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Nov 82 pp 38-41

/Article by Dumitru Fernoaga, secretary of the local party organization of the Bucharest movie studios: "The Promotion of the Revolutionary Spirit in Filmmaking"/

/Text/ The main efforts of the communists and the other workers in the movie studios--directly responsible for the quality of the Romanian full-length feature film--are concentrated in the direction of achieving those cinematographic productions with a high ideological content and a stirring patriotic message, capable of helping to form and development the national and civic consciousness of our people, the aesthetic sense of the masses.

Being directly involved in fulfilling this desire of major significanc for national culture, our local party organization proposes to undertake such political and organizational actions as are able to provide ever visible progress in the direction of raising the film's quality.

Strongly Centered on the Major, Concrete Problems

Our experience, too, confirms /the party general assembly, political and ideological education and individual discussions/ /in boldface/ as efficient means of discussing the complex problems with which cinematographic production is confronted, of stimulating the concern of the communists for producing emotional, profound and educational films. Over the years, we have tried to impart to these classic forms of party work a rich content, anchored as strongly as possible in the efforts for raising the quality of the films, and to get them to be turned into true platforms for discussion and decisionmaking about the key problems on which depends the attainment of this top-priority objective of the field in which we perform our activity. We can thus say that we have managed to bring to the attention of the communists the most burning aspects of the work for which we are responsible, going from the ideological ones of filmmaking to the ones of a financial nature. Because we must say that, besides the concern for offering good films, with a profound revolutionary-educational message, it is necessary for us to manifest an equally acute concern for a film's cost, combating the views according to which a good film cannot be made except by spending a great deal of funds. In this framework, we analyzed the managing producer's style of work, the raising of cinematographic production to a new quality, the educational, formative and economic efficiency of film production, the development of the critical and self-critical spirit of the communists in the movie studios and so on.

The extensive analysis that we undertook in the light of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speeches at the expanded plenum of the RCP Central Committee in June of this year and at the Second Congress for Political Education and Socialist Culture--documents of a remarkable principled and practical significance for all economic and social life in our country and for the ideological field in particular--represented a time of reference for more firmly orienting our activity. Thus, the efforts and work methods of the communists in the four movie studios for increasing the ideological and artistic value of the film and the clarity of the message and for increasing its power to influence the consciousness of the public were minutely and thoroughly examined and, at the same time, the directions to follow in the future, the work program, meant to provide the qualitative leap expected by our party's leadership, by filmgoers, by the very evolution of contemporary cinematographic art, the growth of the contribution that the film can make to the revolutionary education of the masses, to the multilateral, communist formation of the human personality, were marked out even more clearly.

To us, the workers in the movie studios, it is clear that the cinematographic activity must reflect and, at the same time, foreshadow the revolutionary changes in the country, that the film ought to support through specific, varied artistic forms the heroic struggle of our people on their way to constructing the new social order.

The deciphering of the relationships of real, creative interdependence between art, ideology and everyday life, done in so rigorously scientific and objective a view by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the Second Congress for Political Education and Socialist Culture, remains for all people of art and culture an invaluable guide.

"We need militant, revolutionary literature," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said, "we need novels and plays that reflect the hard, enthusiastic work, the difficulties that must be overcome, but also the successes that our people achieve in erecting the most just society in the world in the ascent toward the high, bright peaks of communism.... We need truly revolutionary theater and cinematography."

From the ecounter with the public and with the specialized criticism, we can point to the achievement of films of definite value, such as "The Pale Light of Pain," "A Maidenly Tear," "The Cruise," "Luchian," "Mondo Umano," "The Jugglers," "Vanities," "The Sword Swallower," "The Sign of the Snake" and so on, films which reflect pages of work and struggle of our people for a better life, which have gotten positive evaluations and have had a large number of viewers. They demonstrate professionalism and talent on the part of the filmmakers, also confirming, at the same time, an activity of proper guidance on the part of the managing producers.

However, we believe that all of us, the workers in the movie studios, have not done everything to stop as much as possible, with the means that we have on hand, the mediocrity and superficiality that still make their appearance in some firms of ours. Even in recent years, unfortunately, some poor, dull, worthless films have been produced: "Stars of Winter," "The Third Somersault," "The Gates of Morning," "The Trident Does Not Answer," "The Son of the Mountains" and so on.

We militate continually, under all circumstances, for it to be understood by all the communists in our organization that the manifestation of the revolutionary spirit presupposes that, along with uncovering the shortcomings and the causes that generated them, there are also pointed out the practical ways to follow in order to eliminate them and prevent others of the same kind.

Our experience has proved that a high degree of responsibility appears /when the communists are at the head of the efforts to better organize and manage production, to establish order and discipline in work/ [in boldface]. It has thus become a practice with us to present information--unfortunately, thus far supported particularly by the heads of the movie studios, not by other communists among the managing producers--about the way in which they fulfill their production tasks and how they help to establish a suitable work climate, especially within the film crews, where the discipline often leaves much to be desired, information generating lively discussions and useful conclusions. Due to this procedure, old shortcomings, like the phenomena of indiscipline within staffs in the movie studios, the often unsuitable quality of scripts forwarded for approval, the lack of firmness in choosing collaborators, in forming the film crews, are on the way to being eliminated. The making of poor films, without any educational message, and the frequent exceeding of the quantity of film, the approved estimates, the schedule or the various stages of work, even if they have not reached too great a frequency, nonetheless represent aspects toward which the bureau and the communists in our organization must manifest greater firmness and responsibility. This is why the expression of continual exactingness, of dissatisfaction regarding the results obtained, with a view to improving them qualitatively, and the cultivation of an attitude of irreconcilability with the shortcomings, of real, lasting concern for the way in which the problems are solved constitute continual concerns of our organization. For example, examining not long ago the causes that led to the failure to comply with the timetable for putting the films for 1983 into production, we did not limit ourselves to describing the facts, but it was indicated that this situation was the fault of both the managing producers and the managements of the movie studios, which did not concern themselves sufficiently with forming that portfolio of scripts that has been discussed for too long a time. This was of a nature to put us all in the situation of reflecting more seriously, more responsibly.

Forms Suited to the Specific Character

Pursuing the further development of national film production in the light of the tasks that devolve upon cinematography from the documents of the 12th RCP Congress and from Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speeches at the expanded plenum of the RCP Central Committee and at the Congress for Political Education and Socialist Culture in June 1982, the movie studios drew up the draft of the 1983 thematic and production plan, taking into account both the results obtained in 1981-1982 and the major precepts that are prescribed in this 5-year period. The main staffs of scriptwriters among the members of the Union of Writers and the Association of Cinematographers, as well as other categories of creators, were involved in preparing the draft plan. At the same time, the plan utilizes works selected in the script competitions concluded last year and offers the possibility of the advancement of young directors who will debut in 1983.

On the whole, the 1983 thematic plan pursues: the marking of events of special importance--65 years of life and over 50 years of revolutionary activity by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu--for which purpose the following films will be made: "Homage," from a script by Dinu Sararu and Nicolae Dragos, "Love and Revolution," "Daybreaks" and "The Last Spring," which propose to bring back into the memory of the viewing public the party's struggle to forge a new social order; and the substantial growth of the concern for according a greater weight to the films drawn from socialist reality, from the life and activity of the working people in industry, construction, agriculture and other fields. In the spirit of the observations that were made at the Second Congress for Political Education and Socialist Culture, themes from the life of the miners and from the activity of the young people on the worksites of the Danube-Black Sea Canal were included. Topical themes represent more than half of all the themes put in the plan. In addition, it is intended that there will be continued the efforts to complete the national cinematographic epic through the achievement of productions drawn from the homeland's history, from our people's struggle for social and national liberation.

Certainly, the preparation of balanced thematic plans, strongly anchored in our socialist realities, in the people's construction efforts, represents an important step in film production. But the big problem that is now raised is that of attracting the best writers, publicists and people of art and culture to the achievement of suitable scripts and the most talented directors to breathe life into them and of finding the most suitable methods of collaboration with them.

To this end, we propose to appeal to various forms of contact with scriptwriters, directors and the viewing public, utilizing with greater frequency the ones that have gotten results thus far and always trying others.

A scriptwriter's workshop, within which writers, directors and scriptwriters watch films and discuss problems of artistic form and content in filmmaking, was created on our initiative. The presence of the managing producers at these discussions leads to choices that converge toward our thematic needs and, at the same time, the orientation of the filmmakers toward promoting more boldly the national specific character in Romanian cinematographic art and eliminating views alien to the spirit and taste of our public and the shallow, sketchy methods of resolving the artistic conflict. We also utilize the script competitions organized by the Council for Socialist Culture and Education and even solicit by mail, from categories of fans of cinematographic art, scripts and ideas for doing the ones that we have proposed. We have tried some methods of attracting the best writers to the achievement of scripts, collaborating with the Association of Cinematographers and the Union of Writers and initiating meetings in which we present for attention our thoughts and the thematic plan.

One of the basic concerns is also that of establishing systematic, fruitful contacts with different categories of filmgoers--they having a dual effect: that of discovering the preferences of the beneficiaries of the artistic act, thus correlating them with our intentions, and that of forming tastes, of bringing the public closer to the film's message. In this regard, meetings have been organized in cities, communes and economic units, opinion polls are taken, and cinematographic lectureships have been initiated in a few urban centers.

In order to increase the responsibility of our workers for all elements and aspects of film production--what would please, would attract, would educate, would cultivate advanced convictions of work and life--we proposed that at the end of each year we achieve within the party general assembly a thoroughly analytic review of the entire film production in the respective year, seen also from the angle of each managing producer's contribution. We will also analyze the style of work of all the movie studios, in the idea of eliminating predominantly administrative and overtechnical views in treating the problems of cinematographic production, which, at a give time, could harm the basic aspect, the content of the films. In this context, we thought that the bureau should hold discussions with each managing producer in order for us to be aware of his work methods, of what each does in order to firmly apply the cinematographic policy, to bring before the filmgoers interesting, beautiful films, capable of contributing to the education of the revolutionary consciousness of the working people and, in particular, the younger generation, to the cultivation of ethical and aesthetic choices, of artistic taste, of offering vivid, realistic models of behavior, of causing changes for the better on a behavioral plane and of utilizing on a wide scale the advanced experiences of work.

/The sound political and ideological training of the workers in the movie studios constitutes a premise for fulfilling in optimum terms the duties with which they are invested/ /in boldface/. We devote great attention to the studying, by the party members and the other workers, of the speeches of the secretary general of the party and the other documents, intending insistently that conclusions be drawn for our own activity. We established the rule that the propagandist is to be informed before each discussion about the concrete aspects of the activity of the movie studios with a view to illustrating the ideas in such a way as to continually achieve a close relationship between the aspects of a principled, theoretical nature and the practical ones. In addition, we are in the habit of holding discussions with the party members about problems, theses, ideas in the theme under discussion in order to see to what extent they are prepared and to cause in them more profound introspection on our problems from the position of the person well armed with the content of the party documents.

The scientific analysis that Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu made regarding the social and political position of present-day Romania--a synthesis loaded with the weight of original theses, based on a profound knowledge of reality, which the secretary general of the party undertook in the speech at the expanded plenum of the RCP Central Committee on 1-2 June of this year--has given to all communists in our organization clear, precise orientations, imbued with a revolutionary, innovative spirit, with truth. In this clear light we will analyze the problems with which we are confronted, we will direct our steps.

12105
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BRIEFS

ATTEMPTED COUP BY ARMY OFFICERS--Some Romanian army officers are said to have been executed after an attempted coup d'etat in Bucharest at the end of January, the Vienna correspondent of the TIMES reports on Monday, 7 February. He cites unconfirmed rumors which are circulating in diplomatic circles in the Romanian capital. "If these rumors prove to be true," the London daily says, "this incident would constitute a military challenge to the power of the Communist Party, a challenge which would be much more direct than the imposition of martial law in Poland." "An attempted coup like this," the TIMES adds, "would certainly be received with anxiety by the party leaders in the Soviet bloc at a time in which they are facing an aggravation of the economic crisis." (In any case, it is certain that the army could have a feeling of frustration because of the way in which it has been treated. It is being used more for civilian jobs in the factories and for agricultural work than for military tasks. The more than precarious economic situation of Romania has kept the army from receiving supplementary funds during recent years.) [Text] [Paris LE MONDE in French 8 Feb 83 p 4]

PEOPLES COUNCILS APPOINTMENTS--On the basis of Article 97 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Dumitru Bejan is delegated to fill the position of chairman of the executive committee of the Calarasi County Peoples Council. Comrade Elisabeta Bedo is delegated to fill the position of vice chairman of the executive committee of the Harghita County Peoples Council. Comrade Maria Bradea is delegated to fill the position of vice chairman of the executive committee of the Mures County Peoples Council. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 2, 13 Jan 83 p 4]

PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENT--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Constantin Gheorghescu is appointed deputy minister of light industry. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 3, 17 Jan 83 p 2]

CSO: 2700/119

CAUSES OF ECONOMIC, POLITICAL CRISIS DEBATED

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 25 Jan 83 pp 13-15

[Article by Momcilo Djorgovic: "Who Led Us Into the Crisis"]

[Text] It Is Always the Others Who Are To Blame in the Exchange of Reproaches Between the Scientists and the Politicians

Everything has somehow been disturbed. Even the winters are not those real winters, nor are scientists what they once were: professors steady and cautious in their civic uprightness. Last week's 2-day conference on the topic "Character, Prerequisites and Factors of Social Changes" (or unofficially: the crisis of Yugoslav society and how to get out of it), organized by the Center for Marxism of the Serbian LC Central Committee, which is in any case very active, abounded in temperamental outbursts, strong confrontations, outpourings of dissatisfaction, mutual misunderstandings and agreements, tumultuous reactions and fierce disputations, and conflicts between differing conceptions and different schools. In that superheated atmosphere at one point even the chairman himself "sank" below the table and below his microphone, which was always turned on, which in the heat of the polemics those present did not immediately notice, but then later they jokingly interpreted this dethroning of our well-known economist as a bad omen.

That every joke contains a grain of seriousness was indeed confirmed by the entire course of this conference (which mainly consisted of economic discourse) in which economists, with the support of sociologists, aside from analyzing the present socioeconomic situation, also constantly emphasized how their discipline was being neglected, especially by the "political sphere." The debate, we should say at once, was very variegated, all in the spirit of a pluralism of opinions and views, acceptable and unacceptable, but also welcome for those moves which are necessary in order to "measure" the real circumstances and, perhaps, to define future behavior. There was it seems both too little and too much lamentation over the sad destiny of the discipline (economics)--which "no one has been listening to for the last 10 years." Although it would be closer to the truth to say that perhaps certain economists were not listened to by contrast with some others, again certain ones, those indeed who were the ones suggesting certain failures over the past decade, and which the short arm of our accountability has not yet reached. The question, however, is what would have happened if the economists had been alone in tailoring a cap for our system. Those familiar with the situation among them say that there is no certainty whatsoever that they could have even been able to reach an agreement among themselves on any particular conception--so much do opinions among them differ. But that still does not mean that it was in vain to listen to their eavesdroppings, estimates and studies and that today we would not be carrying a burden lighter by several very serious errors.

Imminent Catastrophe

At least on the basis of what we heard, politics is an obsession of our economists. Almost all of them had some objection to make to it. From the cutting off of public debates about economics to the direct intervention in the economy. It is up to the politicians to say whether that is actually the case. Those few who were at the conference maintained silence. The only sociologist and politician, Dr Stipe Suvar, described all those critical efforts by those attending as an effort to set up a new science--crisology (later he went even further and noted that it might also be called crisophrenia, crisomania and paralysology, take your pick), which fervently and promptly generates a new science--prescriptionology. Those present received this observation with enthusiasm in the belief that it is the crisis which has finally generated this call for their intelligence.

Branko Horvat was one of the most implacable critics. What is more, he warned that a catastrophe has been lying in wait for us in the economy for several months. Why? Because the institutions set up in 1971 are "by and large wrongly conceived," while an altogether advanced economic science cannot reach the politicians because their door is closed. However, the economy "does not allow uncontrolled voluntarism and ignorance." According to Horvat, our politics still harbors certain legacies of the Comintern: monolithic officialdom and atomization of the masses. Agreement is then reached behind the scenes, without public scrutiny, and channels are cut for integration of knowledge. Instead of public debate, things are done in drives. What can we do in face of the imminent catastrophe? Horvat asked and his answer was this: Develop a public dialogue. Yet we might wonder, aside from the value of the dialogue itself, whether that prescription is not far out of proportion to the weight of Horvat's prediction?! Before questions were put to him, Horvat also presented this belief: "The League of Communists has been unforgivably permissive in allowing public dialogue and presentation of authentic information to be thwarted. It is an utterly demagogic thesis to say that our public dialogue will lead us into chaos. Public dialogue does not signify that one has the right to babble and to spread untruth; it actually prevents those things."

If you [original reads "they"] are against babbling, asked Miladin Korac, then how come you say that the system has been wrongly conceived? That is easy to say, but it has to be proven. Horvat responded by recommending that Korac read his book which will soon be published by Liber and also added that he was not talking off the top of his head, that every one of his theses and arguments had been measured with mathematical apparatus. Incidentally, he has behind him the work of an entire economics institute which he heads. While he was answering, one economist shouted out: the mistakenness of the system is proven by practice, how else!

Horvat remarked in response to Suvar's observation that he is offering "pictures of unrelieved blackness" that he could not defend a line of development which had brought us to the point of being blackmailed by international capital (credits at a 30-percent rate of interest), as though we were a semicolonial country, to the point where we also have record unemployment, to the point where the standard of living this year is equal to what we had 10 years ago, while technology is showing negative development, and all this is accompanied by defeatism and apathy.

The Hypocrisy of the Consumer

By contrast with Horvat Gojko Stanic was less "catastrophic," and he referred to everything that has shaken us in the last 2 years as a crisis in development which has hit us every 10 years since 1945. "Always the way out of these crises has meant a higher quality of management and social division of labor." Stanic finds the causes of this last "development crisis" in the errors committed in development policy, in the neglect of domestic knowledge, in the inability of Yugoslavia as a whole to successfully oppose partial interests. "The interests of the below-average producers and idlers have been honored, especially in economic policy, but not the interests of the most productive minority of producers, those capable of maintaining an equal footing in the international division of labor."

Stanic also noted the existence of political apathy in our country. He pointed to two causes: apathy results from the virtual flood of cries for accountability, while at the same time no one is made accountable. The first cause: "Those responsible for the present crisis situation are those who hold the highest offices in our society, the leaders; however, it is a fact that responsibility also lies on the shoulders of the broad group of the most influential self-managers, who in the most recent past have actually been spending more than they produce and have been realizing sizable gains from inflation, passing them on from the public sector into the private sector, into personal consumption." We make the observation--if we hold the view that we have had a benefit from excessively rapid development, then it again turns out that no one is responsible! And if we have all profited, how then do we account for the apathy today? Is this some form of hypocrisy on the part of the consumer, or is it the ordinary dissatisfaction of a spoiled consumer?! Stanic sees another cause of apathetic behavior in the failure of the congresses held to date to develop a concrete long-range mobilization plan for getting out of the crisis.

The present economic system does not deserve our confidence. It has not been betrayed by people, but rather it has betrayed them--Mardjan Korosic was categorical. According to him, there is no alternative to honoring economic laws and commodity production. In any case, what alternative is there to commodity production? Korosic asked and responded: A strengthening of bureaucratic monopoly and disintegration. However, the bureaucrats are afraid of the market and turn to ideologues precisely because it punishes every mistake. The laws of the market are also laws of equalization, and our society is a society of inequality. According to Korosic, the secret thought of the bureaucrat is to make people happy whether they want it or not, and then society becomes an object which is made happy by some subject, and that already smacks of "real socialism."

"Blow From the Right"

Not only in this, but also in other speeches there were dark forebodings that there is a threat of "a blow from the right," of bureaucratization of the system and of authoritarianism. It was amazing how persistently this was repeated and apocalyptically emphasized by these people. And they all offered arguments and results of research. They all called for space to be opened up for dialogue and for a free flow of true information to be facilitated, under the motto that there is no self-management unless people are completely informed. If there have been errors in any part of the process of decisionmaking and execution, those mistakes should be acknowledged. No one will be denied the right to make a mistake, no one's head will roll--this is actually only a generator of confidence in the system and in people. It might be said: just as there is no infallible conception, so there is no infallible decision-making and development. Which makes panic reactions and a campaign of suppression, which in any case the public does not accept, if indeed that old practice is insisted on in dealing with "the people," then that means that we do not know our own society.

The participants noted that the establishment is oversensitive to criticism and that often it does not distinguish between the real enemies and those who want to fight for progress. There are time when they are put in the same basket. Yet if someone says something unpleasant, this does not signify that he means to take power. Bans, name-calling and other forms of repression are not a way of overcoming difficulties and dissatisfaction. Just the reverse: The longer the dissatisfaction is suppressed, the more explosive it becomes. It would seem to be much wiser to facilitate public expression of a diversity of ideas and views (so long as the criticism is not destructive, of course), and only then should they be classified, rather than to be stifled with classifications which often arise out of fear of a possible loss of positions which have been gained. It has been noted that pluralism of interests in self-management has the greatest validity for politicians, who agree or disagree on that basis, but that that principle is not valid for other social groups.

The weakness of observations of this kind is that they omit any detailed analysis of those who carry out social changes and in general of how the style of play is altered. It is obvious that the room for dialogue cannot be opened up solely by intellectuals, though it cannot be done without them, just as mere liberation of the economic mechanism does not guarantee liberation of labor, though the crisis in the spirit of our system cannot be resolved without it either. As Ljubisa Adamovic mentioned, without a free market there cannot be political freedoms either. Which is why, he believes, all those shortages which are affecting us have deeper roots, since "it suits someone for there to be a shortage, it suits someone to have all the force of these petty dissatisfactions in Yugoslav homes, it suits someone for that little we have of the free market to be compromised."

If all that is so, and if all the deviations are so which since the congress have been described in various places and analyzed, does this mean that the future course of social development should be left solely to the dynamics of social groups and the economy? If it is so that politics has made errors, does this mean that we should take up some kind of antipathy toward politics in general? And what is the role of the League of Communists in all this? Perhaps all this is best answered by Luka Markovic, who in the midst of the grumbling of the economists was so bold as to declare his lack of confidence in economic science. We might state his position against in this way: "Nothing in economics spoke about the revolution in 1941 or for it. Then as now its set of categories was incapable of suspecting them. It would have held that this was a case of political voluntarism; it would have seen people going from prison into the woods and raising a rebellion. If one were to listen to economics, one should not have undertaken the uprising in 1941, nor self-management in 1951, nor indeed our entire development based on those events." Nor was he even prepared to grant economics amnesty from mistakes over the last several years, since after all it was the economists who conceived the present economic system. Altogether willing to take his "beating," he asserted that the collective Yugoslav economist is at the service of the progressive world and Yugoslav bourgeoisie. The present world problems and our own problems, the terror of capital, according to him, cannot be analyzed by economics, but require historical-class analysis, just as 1941 does. A new phase of the revolution is needed with real participation of a larger and better-educated working class. "The party dare not make a mistake here unless it wants to turn matters over to the technocracy." It is not possible, then, without a political vanguard, but.... But with a profoundly altered class-and-social composition in which there would no longer be dominance of the so-called middle stratum. And yet another thing, which was stressed by Miroslav Peculjic: changes cannot be undertaken with old conceptions. Which is to say that the decisions are made by elites in politics, finance and the economy, and all the other social forces simply rubber-stamp them. On the contrary, one must awaken collective creativity, and democracy is a necessary condition. For Peculjic democracy is not an empty word or oath. For him democracy means dismantling (rastakanje) the pyramid at whose apex are the political-economic groups and at whose base are the producers, young people, intellectuals, segregated moreover in both social and ethnic terms. Peculjic's basic theme is that changes cannot be carried out solely by institutions, since there also has to be a social movement here.

If we wished to compress the debate, it might be said that the participants mainly declared themselves opposed to a neglect of optimality, knowledge, responsibility, against group appropriation in whatever form, and against the blocking and doctoring of information, and they declared themselves in favor of social changes in which the creative forces would participate, in favor of dialogue, in favor of an able League of Communists, in favor of commodity production. However much it might seem that these statements were too gloomy, and perhaps even that they were not "on the line," party members probably still have more to gain from astringent observations than the civilized politics of the game and a false and flattering patriotism or an impermissible liberalistic mercy toward deviations and attempts at bureaucratic civilization. Many participants testified that morality can be raised only through the operation of the truth, not by covering it up. Meanderings and indeed even mistaken views are necessary in that operation, but this is probably better than decisions taken in haste to manifest authority, but without backing in carrying them out. To be sure, these things should not be left to debates and people who want to help in social development should not be turned into buffoons who would go from meeting to meeting and compete with one another in making speeches.

Statement by Teodosije Celenkovic

On the basis of the present insight (not sufficiently founded on analysis) into current socioeconomic processes, it might be established that there is ever greater recognition of indicators showing that a so-called dual economy is developing in our country (one has social legitimacy, while the other is developing on the margin or outside that legitimacy). This latter economy develops as a rule into a social channel for the resources of society to flow over into private pockets. This has dual consequences.

First, this really reduces the national income, i.e., that part which is distributed in the public sector. The public sector is thereby impoverished, and individuals get rich. At the same time the real reduction of the national income is favorable to "leveling," especially in a difficult economic situation.

Second, this kind of phenomenon has an extremely great adverse feedback effect on the moral values of workers who are realizing personal incomes solely through their own labor and the results of their labor. It is no accident that today it is difficult in the organization of associated labor to conduct a rational debate based on arguments concerning the distribution of income and personal incomes, concerning better evaluation of productive and creative labor, concerning improvement of particular criteria, and so on.

7045
CSO: 2800/137

FOLLOW-UP REPORT ON KOSOVO POLICE ABUSES

Belgrade TANJUG in Serbo-Croatian 1405 GMT 3 Feb 83

[Excerpt] Belgrade: At the session of the Social-Political Chamber of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia held on 28th September, Radoslav Radosevic, a delegate in the Chamber, was given a reply to his question about the cases of misuse and the exceeding of official powers by individual workers of the militia and internal affairs organs of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

Because he was dissatisfied with the reply received from the Executive Council of the SR of Serbia, this delegate received supplementary information at today's session on criminal acts committed by a number of militiamen and on the results of the proceedings taken against them.

According to this report, which the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs received from the Provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, criminal proceedings have been instituted against six militiamen (four from the militia station in Djakovica and two from the Letnica militia department of the Secretariat for Internal Affairs in Vitina) and have not yet been terminated.

Two of these militiamen are in detention, one has been dismissed and two are suspended until the end of the proceedings. Two reservists have been dismissed from the militia reserve unit.

It was also stressed that a militiaman in the militia department in Junik (the Secretariat for Internal Affairs in Decani) has been charged with committing a criminal act and that he has been excluded from his work community. Disciplinary proceedings, now still in progress, have been instituted against two militiamen from the militia department in Magura (the Secretariat for Internal Affairs in Lipljan) and the militia station in Kosovska Kamenica. One of these militiamen (from the Secretariat for Internal Affairs in Lipljan) has been temporarily suspended from his work community. Three militiamen from the militia department in Klokot (the Secretariat for Internal Affairs in Vitina) have been transferred to other militia units for misusing their official position, and the departmental commander was dismissed. No prosecution measures have been taken against them, it was stated in the supplement to the reply to the question put by the delegate.

CSO: 2800/158

AUSTRALIA CRITICIZED FOR LAXNESS TOWARD ANTI-SFRY EMIGRES

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 24 Jan 83 p 3

/Article by Djurdjica Kuntic: "The Australian Summer Vacation of Anti-Yugoslav Extremists"/

> /Text/ The tolerant stance of the Australian authorities toward the Ustasa emigres has created mistrust in the relations of the two countries.

Incomprehensible Lessons

For those who consider burning a foreign flag in a large number of countries of the world, criminal laws and penalties exist. Besides, how can one's own flag be honored if another nation's flag is not. In Australia, however, foreign flags can be burned at will. Really, one can do whatever he wants against another country. And, in this devil-may-care system, the anti-Yugoslav emigre has found fertile soil.

The most recent Australian hospitality granted the Ustasa extremist, Mate Mestrovic, and his actions against Yugoslavia force one to wonder whether Australia's remote geographical position has not distanced its policy from the elementary reality of political progress and the existing development of relations in the world?

Australia, for example, is allowing a group of extremist emigres to determine its relations with another country, namely Yugoslavia. It is well remembered how, along with the rest, a terrorist group from Australia was injected into our relations in 1972. Then, there was an attempt to legalize an emigre mission, more precisely, some kind of "embassy" in Canberra. Although there was also a chain of other actions against our country from Australian soil, as time passed, and specifically, in recent times, it was expected that some lessons would be understood. Cooperation has obtained new currents, the Australian desire for the progress and development of bilateral cooperation has been underlined, economic relations have obtained a new scope, etc. The Yugoslav public and almost 300,000 of our emigrants, Australians of Yugoslav origin, have begun to believe that the negative experiences have been overcome.

However, from the middle of December until a few days ago Australia has hosted the infamous anti-Yugoslav extremist. During an almost month-long stay in Australia, he called for the destruction of the SRFY, its unity and sovereignty. This extremist's Australian summer vacation was also followed by a determined publicity in the country's press, and even on the ethnic radio otherwise financed by the Australian Government.

The great majority of our emigrants, loyal Australians of Yugoslav origin who are tied to the SFRY as their old homeland, undoubtedly cannot be satisfied with the tolerant stance of their government toward the extremist emigres and their activity. It is a question of activity aimed also against our emigrants, because the great majority of them will always remain tied to the land from which they originated. The proof for this, moreover, is the activity of all those emigrant societies and organizations and their wish for as numerous and frequent contacts and ties as possible. Is this only a feeling for one's native region? It seems also much more. The government in Canberra obviously forgets and ignores just that element of a part of the Australian population. Besides, it also ignores on this occasion the fact that these same anti-Yugoslav extremist emigres can concretely harm only Australia, only the country in which they originate and in which they work. SFR Yugoslavia, no. Because, all the activity of the extremist emigres, the mistakes and sick dreams with the great plans remain in Australia with all the problems accompanying such activity. Even Kangaroos jump far but remain in Australia. This two-sided policy toward Yugoslavia, the toleration of extremist emigres from one side and the desire for good relations on the other, undoubtedly creates mistrust and reflects harmfully upon the efforts to realize and maintain the friendship between the two countries. What does Australia really want and where is it in its interest to allow such activity against Yugoslavia? If a group of extremists already live for decades in error, must the Australian Government itself be tricked by them? Such activity cannot threaten Yugoslavia, but can the reputation of the Australian Government. Are the Australian functionaries incapable of noticing the burden of this toleration for their own country?

A very painful theme of bilateral relations, however, will be opened in future Yugoslav-Australian relations which despite this will develop even further. This is a theme which Australia with reason should eliminate. The world has become too small for someone to remain distant, especially with his policies. The Australian Government should surely consider this if it would also acknowledge, unfortunately only verbally proclaimed, the idea of friendship and cooperation with other countries, especially with SRF Yugoslavia.

12217
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NENAD KECMANOVIC URGES GREATER TOLERANCE OF DIFFERENCES

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 25 Jan 83 pp 8-10

[Article by Nenad I. Kecmanovic: "All Our Differences: Why the Fronts of Our Polemics Coincide With the Republic and Provincial Boundaries"]

[Text] "Proletarians of all republics and provinces, unite!"--the poet and thinker Dusko Radovic once exclaimed while he was still making himself heard from the top of the Beogradjanka. Had he not suddenly fallen silent, he would probably be addressing such an appeal today to those who work in the field of culture. People who work in the field of culture, the intelligentsia, and educated people--whatever name is given to this category of our self-managers, whether or not they have ties with associated labor, have followed the business executives and politicians into the center of our social ferment and debate and the regional exchanges of fire. When Dusan Ckrebic said some time back that "there are no conflicts between the party and the intelligentsia," it immediately became clear that after all something of the kind did exist. After all, otherwise why insist that something does not exist if indeed it does not? Actually the chairman of the Serbian LC Central Committee was in those words making the first response to all those in the country and abroad who have been maliciously accentuating and generalizing certain incidents to the point of all but a global confrontation between those two sides. However, certain current debates in party forums in the meantime make it evident that the accumulation of specific cases of dispute has after all reached a level which deserves greater political attention.

What are we actually talking about? Since in principle not a single sector of public life, indeed not even the subtle parts of the superstructure, can be viewed altogether in isolation from the totality of events and relations, we deem it particularly important at long last to begin to analyze the eruptions that have occurred in culture in the context of our disrupted political relations among the republics and provinces, since that has mainly been their origin. How otherwise to explain that the polemical fronts in philosophy, literary criticism, journalism, literary history, linguistics, and autobiographical accounts ... coincide so often with our internal boundaries, when spiritual creativity claims on the basis of self-evidency to the universality of the humanistic message and general human truth, which by definition oversteps even the external boundaries?

Local Fanatics

In the articles published so far we have attempted several times to expose the logic of the republic-provincial statism which is not based on political and economic exclusiveness, which in a recent meeting of the LCY Central Committee was discussed in critical and picturesque terms by Hamdija Pozderac, but which hitches up to its cart the regional intelligentsia from what is referred to as the cultural sector. The attributive "regional" has a double meaning when applied to educated people of this type. To the extent that they are local isolationists in their spiritual orientation, to that extent they are also provincials in the range of their creativity.

These are those petty local fanatics who are constantly on the watch for someone from the neighboring community to say something unflattering about his own. These are occasions when they demonstrate their patriotism and justify all sorts of bureaucratic sinecures which they have attained without deserving them, occasions which they dare not let pass come what may, and they therefore strike with all their strength, and that on an altogether inappropriate context as a rule. The response must always be several times more fierce so as to make it evident that our marketplace has its own horses for the cultural race, that is, it has intellectual praetorians who pay unreserved allegiance to the native statism. And thus by the way of several polemical blows back and forth arising out of an altogether ephemeral pretext a true war among our cultural provinces breaks out in which the area covered by mutual accusations broadens in direct proportion to the intensity of the quarrel. In a very short time almost everyone in fact forgets when the conflict occurred and how it began--the only important thing is that the tension be constant, whether it is only smoldering or exploding, since we cannot prove our identity by virtue of near unity, nor even by virtue of our differences; what we need above all are antagonisms.

Millions of working people and citizens innocent about the things which petty politicians cook up do not even suspect that behind the belligerent exclamations in newspaper columns stand the statist games of the teams of the republics and provinces as they rival each other in various domains of public activity. As in any game, here also there are plays, penalties, goals, goals one scores inadvertently against oneself, the bench, first stringers, fouls, offsides, halftimes, baselines and sidelines, fixes, thrown games, but also the end of the game, when hands are shaken cordially, when shoulders are patted, and everything is forgotten for a time, until the next round of competitions begins.

Regional Dissidents

However, the public on the reviewing stand, in life as in the stadium, sincerely takes all this seriously, and so the tension carries over in the streets, in the coffeehouses and in the schools, in university dormitories and in speeches by youth leaders, and in shaving parlors.... Should it nevertheless by accident gain a direct insight into what it is about, it would probably judge that it was being led by the nose over relatively insignificant matters and that its attention was intentionally being diverted from much more significant and vital matters.

It takes at least two both for unity and for antagonism, yet we have all of eight. In a community like ours, which is heterogeneous in its social composition, its ethnic composition, its regional composition and its religious composition, as well as in many other respects, and in which the political system has legalized the free expression of a plurality of interests--differences, polarities, and indeed even conflicts cannot be treated as outbreaks, as sabotage or as attacks on the system. But only provided that they run their course within the limits of a value system called socialist self-management, and not republic-provincial statism and its opposed value systems. In a number of cases we approach the same issues in different ways from one capital to another. At first there seems to be nothing strange about this. If we have unequal per capita income, different ethnic traditions, a differing percentage of (il)literates, and so on, is it not possible and indeed even necessary that our views on all sorts of cultural phenomena would be specific, different and indeed even divergent? Indeed, why not? However, the statist-separatist constructs of fictitious differences, which are invented under all sorts of pretexts, even the most insignificant, and are inflated out of proportion at all costs, have relied on those real peculiarities for which a democratic and federal system opens up sufficient room.

Which is why Stipe Suvar rightly notes that "what is happening today is contributing to creation of a nervous state of mind on a broader social scale" ... although there is an equally realistic and somewhat different assessment to the effect that such "sensations," since they have been recurring for a long time now, following a rather transparent pattern, the public is getting less and less excited, and the feeling of being fed up and of monotony is being evoked more and more. If that is not the case already, it certainly will be very soon.

Within the dialectics of the antagonistic cooperation of our republic-provincial statisms it is an especially interesting phenomenon that relatively so few intellectuals crop up who are willing to criticize the separatistic isolationism of their own community, though they do so from a base in one of the neighboring communities. These are the so-called regional dissidents, who as newcomers or correspondents have been extremely well received in an otherwise intolerant neighborhood, since, given their good familiarity with the specific folklore of statism in their former or present domicile, they are capable of more skillful blows than any of their hosts. In the hospitable new refuge people admire them for the sufferings they have gone through and for their courage, and they are amazed that anyone is left alive over there. Emboldened by this support, the refugees, in fact are only in spirit, who in their way set the tone of the cultural skirmishes of republic-provincial statisms, are also given a public occasion to give vent at the same time to their personal critical reflections and to make their contribution to the aggression of the statism from whose soil they are firing. In this they are not aware, or do not wish to be aware, that in fighting against one isolationism they are also committing the same act, not only from someone else's territory, but also from someone else's point of view. That is, one cannot be simultaneously a contestant and also referee in one and the same game. The thunderous criticism of one's former community because of shortcomings in the new home to which one turns one's back--out of a lucrative loyalty to the local bureaucracy or out of fear of its maliciousness--merely reproduces republic-provincial statism as a commonplace on a broader base.

But it is also worthwhile to turn the question around. Why is it that certain regional dissidents from the ranks of cultural figures have become so bold as to open up their critical hearts toward the native bosom only under the sponsorship of some parallel regional separatism, when they did not at the station from which they set out and where the conflict with the world around them actually occurred, that is, where the critical consciousness awakened? Is it a question of a lack of intellectual self-confidence and civic courage? Or is it a question of a justified fear of reaction from harsh defenders of local criteria? Is it a question of a poor assumption that publication will be refused? Or has there been an experience, verified several times, that everything which departs from the provincial line of an uncritical attitude looking inward can see the light of day only on the outside?

Unruly Children

However that might be, in the words of Dr Vaso Milincevic, "often our own battles are fought on someone else's turf," and we might add that this removal of the arena of criticism from its natural place to some other place certainly has its reasons. First of all, every asylum is preceded both logically and socially by banishment, so that only the distorted logic of republic-provincial statism can condemn only the one and not the other. Six plus two federal units make eight, minus one opportunity for the embittered intellectual to go himself or only to send his critical survey of events, people and relations ... in his former or present (if he is still there) community. Some people feel that this kind of situation, however absurd it might seem from the standpoint of the unity of the political system and the unified ideology of the League of Communists, offers everyone so great an opportunity to state frankly what he thinks about his colleagues, fellow citizens, and fellow members of his nationality who subjectively or objectively are embittering his life within the so-called cultural atmosphere or, as some would say, within the "spirit" of a community. Many intellectuals, when they appear publicly in other cultural centers, remind one of unruly children of strict parents who are quiet as mice when at home, but when they go visiting beyond the range of Father's belt, they are so mischievous as to be unrecognizable. Under the repressive control of local statism, that is, of specialized local judges responsible for ideological misdemeanors in the field of culture (so located as to provide a good coverage of the official news media), intellectuals like these who are critically disposed toward their own native community tamely obey and keep quiet, but when in body or at least in their speech they have gotten beyond the jurisdiction of the republic-provincial pater familias, they take wing on sincere confessions. But also on pathetic exaggerations which at the very least do not take into account that their brave revelations are being sponsored by another statism, which may objectively be much more flexible and open, but still and above all to shortcomings somewhere else.

The differences are not essential, but neither are they small, so that by continuous migrations the humanistic intelligentsia is making the larger and more tolerant centers significantly better staffed, and the publications there are absorbing a sizable inflow of the critical output from other communities whose cultural atmosphere is thereby impoverished, altogether unnecessarily. In this latter case an interesting situation comes about: the critical view is marketed in the same place where the author lives, and a so-called dual jurisdiction comes into play. You come under the jurisdiction of one statism on the basis of your permanent place of residence, but under the jurisdiction of another with respect to the place where the "crime of thought" was committed. But since the criteria differ, what is an offense in one jurisdiction will be defended in the other. In short, the alternative is very simple, clear, and known beforehand. If you want to be critical toward your cultural center and its special criteria, then be aware that you will also encounter animosity and exclusiveness in direct proportion to the understanding and sympathy to be found in all other directions, where they will welcome you with open arms and cordially invite you to all kinds of events, both those where you belong and those where you don't. But if you want to take the measure of the local cultural statism, then it is not enough for you to merely implicitly accede to the propositions of all the others, but you must also explicitly prove it, constantly snarling all about at the real or imaginary deviations on that other side of the river or hill. But on the other hand you can count on being praised, spoiled and supported at home in proportion to how reluctantly you are received everywhere else except when the occasion is obligatory, when you have been sent by your department of the newspaper or you are a delegate of your province. When you are sent, that is, by your own people, not when those others invite you.

There is a possibility of your attempting to be objective and unbiased and of reacting to shortcomings regardless of what province they occur in, but this is more theoretical than real, since every time you tangle with a statism in your criticism, you are thereby eliminating one after the other areas in which you can be active, until ultimately there is nowhere left where you can get published. You will learn by practical experience that intolerance toward every dissident voice concerning itself has become a more or less common feature of all our cultural absolutisms. Just let someone today try to say something in support of "Pigeon's Pit" in Novi Sad or against it in Belgrade! And we have many more such examples, much more drastic ones, in certain other communities, but we would rather not cite them. Yet silence occurs as a consequence of an altogether different point of departure. Instead of allowing provincial one-sidedness to measure out negatively the free space in which I can make a committed statement, by withdrawing voluntarily from public life, I will at least passively reduce the number of people they have as a support of its anticultural assertions. This indignant exhaustion arrived at in critical activity, which is especially widespread in certain of our regions, however much it would like to represent itself as passive resistance, is still a kind of opportunism.

Controversies

There is really no moral justification whatsoever for clouding over a risky vigorous critical consciousness with a convenient defensive resistance. Your resigned disgust at the collision of the numerous partial systems of values is perhaps only a consequence of a lack of personal ability or courage to take a stand of your own and to openly defend it in any region of the country, including that in which you permanently reside. Otherwise it turns out that this is a longing for the "one sole," "tried," "tested" and "mandatory" criterion, which then is no longer a matter of choice, but simply has to be adopted. Incidentally, if for your disagreement with certain aspects of the cultural atmosphere in your own geopolitical region you not only cannot find an opportunity, but not even a criteriological point of support in any of the other seven capitals, that is, cultural centers, then you really are wild and wanton.

Does this make Professor Milincevic right when he says that "differing criteria may even be regarded as welcome valves to prevent a retreat into one's shell and into arbitration without appeal"? To be sure, insofar as an intellectual can move into some other community which suits him better or, still more simply, can merely get himself heard there, continuing to sit without consequences in his own house, are not the differentiated and indeed even divergent republic-provincial criteria a conditio sine qua non of the broader horizons of our democracy? There is evidence of this in the obvious coincidence in time between the strengthening of regional statism on the one hand and the unprecedented flood on the other of dialogue, polemics, criticism, journalism, pamphleteering, which for a long time our intelligentsia could only cry out for hopelessly. Although, say, "Hot Meal" is printed in one place, given a prize somewhere else, and criticized in yet a third place; although "Pigeon's Pit" is attacked in one place, put on somewhere else, defended in a third place, and in a fourth passed over in silence; although a judgment as to language is practiced in one place, criticized in another, and in yet a third they are attempting to introduce it; although ...; although.... Yet the pluralism of criteria from one community to another in terms of republics and provinces does not at any point, we will agree, leave the framework of the uniform commitments of the LCY as to principle. We would otherwise conclude that some of our capitals are with the party and some against it, which would nevertheless be unacceptable regardless of someone's ambition to establish that kind of division.

If the individual regional segments of this valuable polycentrism in culture could exist independently of one another, in some mutually uninterested coexistence, then there probably would be no problems. But since our life in Yugoslavia, turning us one toward the other, argues for cooperation rather than divergence, our differentiation in matters of cultural policy dare not take us to the point of divergence and still less our divergence to the point of confrontation. It truly is difficult to maintain a situation in a country, and especially in a unified party, where something that is praised in one city will be banned in another, where what is given a prize in one republic is judged to be hostile in another, where someone who has been suspended in one university center will be welcomed in two others, where someone who has received a high government decoration in one place will be relegated to the political underground somewhere else, where someone judged in one part of the country to be a Stalinist or nationalistic fanatic is esteemed as a party ideologue in another area.

Such controversies, which, were they to occur between two foreign forces, would arouse international tension, cannot be treated as an expression of the AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] sovereignty of our republics and provinces. "The League of Communists has clear position concerning science, art and culture, and there is nothing especially to be changed here except to emphasize the importance of enforcing them still more consistently in practice and in every community ... including the answer to the question which has been an urgent one for a long time now as to how it is possible and best to arrive at uniformity of views on various issues in these areas," we are reminded by Ivan Brigic, secretary of the Presidium of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee. That kind of uniformity certainly cannot be based on any arithmetic averages, still less the most narrow and strictest criteria we might encounter in our practice, but must rather be those most tolerant, most humane, most democratic, and most in the spirit of self-management--free of bans, restrictions, suspensions, threats, excommunications, disqualifications, name-calling and manipulation, but free as well of both anarchistic and also liberalistic spontaneity.

7045
CSO: 2800/134

BRIEFS

MOSTAR HOSTILE PROPAGANDA TRIAL--The criminal bench of the Mostar circuit court, presided over by Judge Medzid Kreso, on Monday sentenced five young men from the village of Turcinovici near Listica to 10 months in jail for the crime of hostile propaganda. The men are Mirko Bubalo, 22; Goyko Kozul, 24; Ivan Bubalo, 24; Vinko Bubalo, 20; and Miroslav Bubalo, 23. It was established during the trial that the defendants, on 8 December 1982, in the "Pocivaljka" tavern in the village of Turcinovici, owned by Joze Bubalo of that village, sang various nationalistic songs. By the decision of the court, all of the accused were released from custody following the pronouncement of the verdict. They will remain at liberty until the sentence takes effect. [Text] [Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 1 Feb 83 p 12]

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